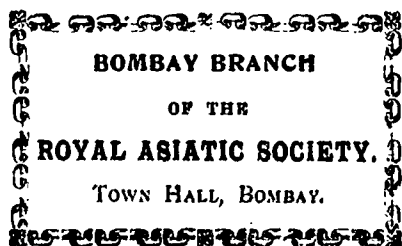




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NARRATIVE OF
A SECRET MISSION TO THE
DANISH ISLANDS

IN 1808. 84104
a

BY THE REV. JAMES ROBERTSON.

EDITED FROM THE AUTHOR'S MS.

BY HIS NEPHEW,

ALEXANDER CLINTON FRASER.



LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, ROBERTS,
AND GREEN.

1863.



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS OF THE EDITOR.



THE following Narrative, now first given to the world, relates to an important incident in the great wars of the French Revolution.

The Mission of which the accomplishment is here related, was undertaken by the Rev. J. Robertson, at the special suggestion of the late Duke of Wellington, who, immediately before engaging in the Penin-
fular

fular War had, with that foresight which distinguished him, turned his attention to the advantages which would be gained to the good cause by obtaining the services of the *élite* of the Spanish army, as well as by the counsel of their experienced commander.

The success of the undertaking and the subsequent advantages derived therefrom gave proof of the foresight and sagacity of the Duke; both as to results and the selection of the agent who was to undertake the arduous and most dangerous task of opening the communications with Romana.

Mr. Robertson was informed, on his way through Hamburgh, that three or four persons, sent by our Government

Government with the same object, had been discovered almost immediately upon their landing on the Continent, and, of course, shot. This information, alluded to in his narrative, I had from his own lips.

In the Appendix will be found an extract from Napier's *Peninsular War*. The author seems to have been fully acquainted with the facts relating to the Mission, as well as to the beneficial results which followed its success, and also with the name of the agent of the Government. The extract from Bourienne, also in Appendix, is of much interest, and, although giving a rather fanciful account of Romana's conduct while quartered in Hamburgh, and ascribing to him views and plans which,

which, at the time, he could not possibly have entertained, at least not in connection with the subject of the present narrative, yet bears testimony to the importance of the defection and escape of the Marquis, and to the profound impression which it made in Europe. He bears very lightly on the censure on himself and Bernadotte implied in the order for increased vigilance, for it was stated at the time that Buonaparte was greatly irritated at the occurrence, and at the negligence of his agents.

It is right that some reasons should here be assigned for the delay which has taken place in making public this important document.

It would have been clearly improper

proper and impolitic to have published it during the continuance of the war; and the history of its retention from publication is summed up in the following statement.

In the year 1813 Mr. Robertson left Dublin, where he had been residing after his return or escape from the Continent in 1809, and shortly after went abroad to forward the views of our Government. On the entrance of the Allies into Paris he repaired thither and put himself in communication with the Duke of Wellington, who had, I understood (from letters received), employed him on several occasions in important affairs. Leaving Paris in 1815 he went to Ratisbon. In 1818 he visited Scotland for a short time, returning

turning to Ratisbon where he died in 1820.

In the year 1825 I came to reside in London, and in 1826 or 1827 waited on Sir Charles Flint of the Irish Office, an old friend of Mr. Robertson, and through him opened a communication with the Duke of Wellington. After some time I learned that the Duke would be pleased to have the perusal of the MS. ; but it was not then in a state to be presented to him. Various causes arose to delay the preparation of a copy till the end of the year 1839, when I left one at Apsley House. This MS. was mislaid, and every effort to recover it was unsuccessful.

Considering that the Narrative
possesses

possesses great interest, and relates to the secret history of the times which it helps, in some degree, to elucidate, and that there cannot, at this time, be any objection to its publication, I now lay it before the public.

ALEX. C. FRASER.

3, Doddington Grove,
Kennington Park.





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THE NARRATIVE.

CHAPTER I.

The Mission Proposed, and Accepted.

 HE Duke of Richmond, in his travels through Germany, towards the end of the last century, visited the city of Ratisbon, and during his sojourn there honoured with his acquaintance the inmates of an abbey of Benedictines, natives of Scotland, and established at Ratisbon, principally, to superintend the education of Scottish youths. The Abbot Arbuthnot and several members of the community were

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were to be seen in the first circles of that imperial city, where their extensive acquirements, and of some among their number it may be said, their brilliant talents, gave them a conspicuous position. Travellers from the United Kingdom, especially, found pleasure in the society of men of letters, familiar, as these were, with the language and manners of Germany, but attached by the ties of nature and of principle to the country of their birth.

The British Envoy generally availed himself of their services as interpreters at the Diet; and indeed, so highly did he appreciate their usefulness, and so great was his confidence in their integrity, that he not unfrequently commissioned them to act in his stead.

One of the fraternity in particular (Mr. Horn), a man of distinguished ability,

ability, had rendered such signal service to the Envoy, and had thereby become so obnoxious to Napoleon, that he was forced, in 1804, to quit Ratisbon and seek a safer abode where the power of the French Emperor was not yet paramount.

Some years before this event, I, being a member of the community of which I have just spoken, had returned to my native country, and as it chanced that at the time of the Duke of Richmond's appointment to the Vice-Royalty of Ireland, in the year 1807, I was a resident in that part of the kingdom, I was induced to address his Grace on his nomination to that high office; and, while putting him in mind of his condescending visits to the monastery at Ratisbon, to express the desire I felt to be employed in any public service, consistent with my profession, that
might

might conduce to the general good. The answer I received was couched in the most gracious terms; it intimated that the Duke would keep the subject in view and would embrace, with much pleasure, any opportunity of obliging a member of the community from which he had received such hospitable attentions.

That these were not mere court promises, made only to be broken, I obtained assurance in an interview to which I was shortly admitted by Sir Arthur Wellesley, who then filled the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. To that interview, unimportant as it was in itself, my memory reverts with lively interest. The impression is still fresh which the simple, frank demeanour of the yet undeveloped hero made upon my mind in the course of a hurried conversation of not more than

than ten minutes. I was possessed with a consciousness equally indefinable and irresistible that I was in the presence of a master-spirit gifted with a capacity to make "all time to come his own." From this my first reception I seemed to feel that the man with whom I was conversing was one who could conceive and execute the mightiest designs. Was my augury vain?

The Chief Secretary was soon called to attend his duty in Parliament; but not long after his departure I received a communication from him requesting my attendance in London, whither accordingly I repaired without loss of time, though as yet unapprised of the specific purpose which the journey was to serve.

Sir Arthur thanked me for my ready compliance with his summons, and intimated that an opportunity would

would soon be afforded me of evincing both my loyalty and my courage. I replied that there was no danger I would not cheerfully encounter in the cause of my country, and again professed myself ready for any undertaking that would not discredit my clerical profession.

These sentiments elicited a hearty approval on his part, and so our interview closed.

I naturally expected that I should quickly hear from Sir Arthur again, but in this I was disappointed : days and weeks passed on without any notification that my season of actual service had arrived. I began at length to look on the issue of the affair as altogether uncertain, and being little inclined to importune the Government, I determined rather to seek some clerical engagement, and was at length induced to enter the

the family of a Catholic peer as travelling companion and chaplain.

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On the last day of May, 1808, I accordingly entered upon my new duties ; but scarcely was I seated when a letter was put into my hands from the Irish Office, desiring my attendance at the house of Sir Arthur Wellesley, in Harley Street.

On receipt of this message, so long and so anxiously waited for, and so little expected at the moment, I felt greatly embarrassed. To quit my new patron suddenly would be difficult ; it would be uncourteous in a high degree to do so without explaining the cause. Yet, could that explanation be given ? Or, on the other hand, could I draw back from my first engagement with the Government ? On reflection I resolved first to wait on the Secretary, and then be guided by circumstances.

Sir

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Sir Arthur broached the business with his usual affability, which immediately sets at ease those who have the honour of treating with him. "You tell me, Mr. Robertson," said he, "that you are a man of courage." "Try me, Sir Arthur," I replied. "Well, that is what we mean to do. Will you assist in rescuing the Spanish army, now detained by Bonaparte in the north of Germany? Will you carry proposals from the British Government to the Marquis de la Romana, the commander of that army?"

"Will I?—with the utmost alacrity, Sir Arthur, and not without some confidence of success. I speak the language of the country as well as a native; and if I gain access to the Spanish General, my words may perhaps all the more readily find credit with him on account of my clerical character. Moreover, I feel the

the deepest interest in the cause of his nation, because I view it not only as the cause of an oppressed people but as the cause of religion. It is, in truth, the cause of my own country and of every people of Europe against the most unjust and ambitious of usurpers. If I fall, it is a sacrifice I make to my country. In the course of nature I have not many years to live—let me, before I die, have the honour of attempting, at least, to render an important service to my fellow men.”

“Then you will meet me at the Foreign Office, when I shall introduce you to Mr. Canning.”

Punctual to the appointed time, I was conducted by Sir Arthur Wellesley through a private door into the apartments of the Secretary of State.

Being little accustomed to diplomatic or courtly forms, I, no doubt, made

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made an uncouth appearance when ushered into the presence of the Minister. Sir Arthur could not refrain from smiling at my visible embarrassment, and Mr. Canning, by his manner, seemed to think me ill-fitted for such a mission. I, however, showed the grounds of my hopes, and manifested so eager a desire to undertake the task, that it was finally entrusted to me.

The Ministry had been informed that the Danish Fort on the Elbe, called Glückstadt, was garrisoned by the Spaniards. The worst place in the world for one charged with an enterprise like mine to land at; for the Danes were still so much exasperated against England on account of the affair of Copenhagen that they spared no pains to discover and punish emissaries from our Government. The information proved, however, to be

be erroneous ; Romana's army was not stationed at Glückstadt.

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It was admitted that the Government were not precisely informed of the views entertained by the Spanish General in regard to the late usurpation of Bonaparte. Mr. Frere, indeed, had been personally acquainted with the Marquis, and gave a very high character of him. It was on account of his known abhorrence of the ambition and tyranny of the Corsican that he had been removed from Spain by the traitor Godoy, who, in giving him the command of the Spanish force sent to co-operate with the French in the north of Europe, had at once deprived his native country of her ablest general and her choicest troops. This had been done two years before the treacherous dethronement of the imbecile Charles and Ferdinand ; and
little

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little now did the Machiavel of Corsica think that so masterly a stroke of policy was about to be defeated by the agency of a humble monk.

Next came the message to be delivered. Mr. Canning referred that particular to Mr. Hammond, whose instructions to me were to this effect :—You will inform the Marquis Romana that our transports shall be at his orders, to convey him and his troops to any place or country he chooses. We ask nothing in return : we do not require that they should fight for us : we simply desire to put it in their power to withdraw from their present situation : we offer to carry them free of cost to South America, to Minorca, to Canada, to England, or to Spain, at their option. Tell him Mr. McKenzie waits at Heligoland to receive his determination : that if Spain is resolved to resist

resist the Ufurper, we are ready to co-operate with her by every means in our power : that our cavalry were never better mounted, our artillery never better served, that our soldiers of every rank long for an opportunity to measure themselves with the French on land : that we consider Spain as the fairest field of action, and thereupon await the invitation of its oppressed inhabitants. Other instructions in conformity with these were given to Mr. McKenzie, who was to correspond from Heligoland with me on one side, and with the Government on the other ; and if the Marquis should be disposed to send any of his officers to that island Mr. McKenzie was empowered to conclude a treaty with him in form.

There remained on my part a request to prefer. " Permit me to mention now," said I, addressing Sir Arthur,

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thur, my first friend, "that, although pecuniary advantage is not my moving principle, I have certain sacred duties to fulfil. An aged mother and two sisters have strong claims on me : I live more for them than for myself. This is all I wish to say."

Sir Arthur, after a few words privately interchanged with Mr. Canning, immediately took up a pen and wrote, in the name of the King's Ministers, an assurance of liberal remuneration to Mr. Robertson in the event of his success, and a further promise that, in case of a sinister issue to his undertaking, his relatives should be provided for at the expense of the Government. This document remained in the hands of a friend in London.



CHAPTER II.

*Passage to Heligoland. Perils in the
Weser. Arrival at Bremen.*



VERY preliminary having been completely arranged, we left London on the King's birthday (the 4th of June), amidst the ringing of bells and the firing of the park and tower guns : a happy omen ! Having reached Harwich the same evening, I was entered by Mr. McKenzie at the Alien Office as a foreigner, whom he was instructed to convey out of the kingdom.

A favourable breeze brought us
in

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in forty-eight hours to Heligoland, where on landing we delivered a letter to the Consul, who received us very kindly. This official letter contained an order for Mr. N. to lay an embargo on all shipping, till such time as Mr. Robertson should be safely landed on the opposite coast, and tidings to that effect should have been brought back to the island. Unluckily, the Consul was not informed by Government of the object of my mission, nor was Mr. McKenzie authorized to consult him. The embargo, too, was but ill-observed; for the news of our arrival at Heligoland was conveyed to the continent, and my landing was thereby rendered much more difficult. Without much loss of time, however, a boat was ordered to bring me to a small island, close to the mainland. On my arrival there I found that

that the attention of the French had been called to that spot: they had thrice in one week visited every bed in the island, a circumstance which portended no good to any one landing on it. The inhabitants humanely intreated me not to proceed, and with much difficulty were prevailed on to grant me shelter for that night only.

Although I had laid claim to the quality of personal courage, it will not surprise any one who knows human nature, that, having hitherto been little conversant with danger in its more formidable aspects, I should shrink from the imminent peril which now threatened me at my next step. To stay on the island, or to proceed without a guide or passport or recommendation, I found equally impracticable. I resolved early next morning to return to Mr. McKenzie,

McKenzie, and lay all my fears and difficulties before him. From that kind and brave friend I received all the sympathy and all the encouragement I needed; he spoke of dangers he himself had encountered, and of the mental disturbance he had often had to struggle with in confronting them: but he represented to me at the same time how serious a disappointment it would be to our Government, and how great a discredit to those engaged in the undertaking, were I to return *re infectâ*; that others would be found to offer themselves for the service, that he himself, could he speak the language, would not hesitate to charge himself with it. In short, his counsel prevailed and I determined not to relinquish my object without further trial. Of the judgment and energy displayed by Mr. McKenzie on this occasion

occasion it is impossible to speak too highly. I regret my inability to do justice to his deserts.

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The Consul, Mr. N., seemed now to be more in earnest about the unknown affair. As the embargo still nominally continued, he sent for a contraband trader who had two vessels in the harbour ready to sail. "You are anxious to get away, are you not?" said Mr. N. to the smuggler. "Very anxious indeed," replied the other. "Should my absence be observed I shall, no doubt, be arrested on my return. Suffer me to sail, for Heaven's sake!" "On one condition," said the Consul. "Name it!" "That you take a friend of mine ashore." "Not for any consideration, sir," answered the smuggler. "It is impossible." "Very well; since you will not oblige me, do not expect me to oblige you. The embargo

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bargo continues a fortnight longer ; and rest assured I know you ; your borrowed name does not conceal you. I know your owners also. You belong to the house of N. V., and your name is B—.” The smuggler faltered. “ Well then, since it must be so, I agree to take charge of your friend ; but he must strictly conform to my directions, or I will not be answerable for the consequences.” “ He shall,” said the Consul. “ Get everything in readiness.”

Here was another peril. To be thrown into the power of a man engaged in illicit traffic, who might easily be tempted to betray the trust which had been forced upon him, was a painful situation ; but there was no remedy. Notwithstanding the dangers which surrounded me, I embarked the second time in high spirits, and was brought in a very small,

small vessel into the river Weser. The shallows on either side afforded the only chance of a safe landing ; but there were guards at every spot that allowed the approach of the smallest boat. It was possible, indeed, that by wading up to the middle for five or six miles, one might reach the land unobserved ; but I had neither health nor strength for this mode of travelling. It was at last determined that my contrabandist guardian should himself first go ashore in this manner, and prepare the way for bringing up his vessel and landing his goods and passenger. The smack continued its course up the river after setting him, not, indeed, ashore, but on his legs in the shallow water. In the course of the day the crew observed a revenue cutter bearing down upon them. The skipper, not understanding

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ing his instructions properly, was panic-stricken. Hastily tacking about, he steered out to sea under full sail, and was in vain hailed and pursued by the cutter. The latter now fired a musket as a signal, which our skipper mistook for a gun, and gave himself up for lost. His vessel, however, proved the better failer, and having fairly outrun and lost sight of the cutter he ventured, as night drew on, to drop anchor and await the event. All was quiet till about two o'clock in the morning, when our timorous commander was informed that a boat was rowing along-side of us. He came at once to rouse me from the deep slumber in which I lay, and very seriously bad me prepare for death. It is not improbable that at this juncture the crew would have made a second Jonah of their passenger to save themselves, had there

there been time for such a step. When I came on deck I perceived that all this alarm had been occasioned by the approach of two unarmed men. These proved to be friends too, sent from the cutter to protect the smack, the whole having been so adroitly managed by the contraband trader, with the aid of a well-filled purse, that the very men who had been hired, or rather impressed, by the French to guard the coasts, were ready to assist him in his traffic. An explanation having taken place, to the no small gratification of the skipper and crew, the two men were welcomed most cordially, and partook of the best cheer on board the smack. By the direction of the new comers, we resumed our former course. On coming along-side the revenue vessel, it was decided by a general vote that the most obnoxious
part

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part of our cargo—myself, to wit—should be put on board of her. To this I willingly submitted; but a second boat now making its appearance, renewed our former fears, and I was compelled to make a hurried retreat to my stifling berth in the little cabin. We found, however, that our new visitors were like the first, friendly assistants sent to us by the worthy free trader; and in the course of the following night both vessels landed their merchandize and passenger under the very guns of a fort garrisoned by the French. Whether the sentinel on duty here was asleep, or found it his interest to appear so, he can best tell; but so it was that the landing took place without salute of either gun or musket; and I was brought to the very house which the Chef de la Douane had chosen for his head quarters.

quarters. Doubtless English guineas had pressed so heavily on his eyelids that he needs must sleep on. Not so the good smuggler, who had found a harbour under the same roof, for the moment he was called out of his slumbers he ordered horses to be put to and drove away with his charge. It was to his own house that he brought me, and there he entertained me for three days. This time was needed to concert measures with other friends by whose aid I was to be forwarded on my journey. A communication was opened with a friendly merchant, who agreed not only to receive me, which he did most cordially, but to escort me in his chariot to the nearest city, Bremen. It was arranged that another merchant who resided there should take a drive out of the town, at a certain hour, accompanied, as if for an

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an airing, by his principal clerk, and that he should meet us at an appointed spot. This plan was carried into effect; the carriages met and the clerk resigned his seat to me. There was little reason to fear that any questions would be asked at the gates of the town as we entered, since two gentlemen had come out, and two would return by the same vehicle, which being an open one, rendered us less liable to suspicion. Accordingly we drove in without molestation.



CHAPTER III.

*The too-inquisitive Host. A Passport
procured by stratagem. Inconveni-
ence of a newly-borrowed Name.
Arrival at Hamburg. Incidents
in that City and its Neighbourhood.
Departure for Lübeck.*

MY new host had prepared an excellent dinner, but he plied me so hard with wine, and questioned me so pertinaciously about my mission, that I was not at all at my ease in his society. His inquisitiveness, in fact, exceeded the measure of his hospitality, and he was evidently not a little vexed at

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at the taciturnity of his guest. I soon discovered that self-interest was the mainspring of his actions; he had hoped that through my recommendation he might connect himself with the Commissariat of any body of troops that we might be about to land on these coasts; but when he found that he could neither elicit the information nor obtain the promise he desired, and that his newly raised hopes of money-making were not likely to be realized, he lost his temper, and told me that, since I did not choose to put confidence in him, I need not any longer expect to be accommodated under his roof. This was an unexpected blow which, but for the clerk who dined with us and witnessed the unreasonable conduct of his employer, might have been of serious consequence. The clerk, however, gave me the wink, and, taking

taking leave at the same time as myself, brought me to a respectable hotel, where I passed the night.

While I was meditating on various plans of operation, a stratagem suggested itself which, at variance, as it doubtless was, with the strict rule of veracity, seemed allowable, considering the object it was to serve, and the emergency in which it was adopted. Among my German acquaintances in London there was one nearly of my own age. He had left his native country when a child and never since revisited it. I recollected the place of his birth, and knew that all his relatives were long since dead. His name, therefore, I adopted, and, to complete the transformation, I wrote to the priest of the parish in which the German was born, intimating that after a lapse of many years Mr. R. was desirous of visiting the

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the place of his birth, and requesting that a certificate of his baptism, extracted from the parish register, might be sent to him. The priest did not hesitate to comply. The attestation of birth and baptism, signed and sealed in due form, was promptly transmitted to me; and this document, coupled with my perfect knowledge of the dialect of that province, completed my Germanization. I did not immediately become possessed of it, for time was too precious to wait its arrival in Bremen; I therefore left directions to have it sent after me to Hamburg.

The following day I prevailed on the merchant's clerk to apply at the Town House for a passport, as if for a friend who had come from the country on his way to Hamburg. This was granted without difficulty, but it was necessary that I should
make

make my appearance and sign my name; and such is the force of habit that I began with the initial letter of my real name, J, which the town-clerk observing, suddenly called out to me—"How, sir! did you not tell me your name was Adam?" It was really an unpardonable blunder, and might have proved fatal but for one of the luckiest thoughts that ever occurred to me in a moment of difficulty. "Sir," I replied (and, certainly, with some embarrassment), "in the palatinate of Bavaria where I was born, we are in the habit of affixing Johann (John) to every man's baptismal name, as we do Mary to every woman's, so that we do not say George, Peter, Adam, &c. but Hans George, Hans Peter, or Hans Adam."* This is really the

* *Hans* is the familiar appellation for Johann.

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the case. The explanation had the air of truth, and saved me for this time. The passport, to make it valid, was afterwards to be *visé* by the French Resident. The fee, however, was all he wanted, and this point of form being observed, little curiosity was evinced concerning the character or destination of the traveller. Indeed the natives were so hostile to the French that the Resident thought it best to pocket his dollars quietly.

One great object was now attained, the first town on my route, garrisoned by the French and Dutch, acknowledged the authenticity of my passport, and no obstacle prevented my reaching Hamburg. I preferred travelling by what is called Extra Post,—which is, an open waggon drawn by two horses. By being alone I avoided many impertinent interrogatories, went on more speedily

ily. than by any other conveyance, and was treated with more respect. When about half-way between Bremen and Hamburg, however, I picked up a companion, who not only lessened my expenses, but was of real service by giving me much valuable information. On the second day I reached the banks of the Elbe, opposite Hamburg; here my passport was inspected, and on crossing the river my luggage was strictly examined by the French douaniers. I took up my quarters in a very good hotel, where every desirable attention was paid to me; but where, nevertheless, I soon became aware that I was viewed with suspicion. I was provided with a letter of credit on a merchant of great respectability. The writing was invisible to those unaware of the secret, and the paper was stitched into my pocket-book. On presenting

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presenting it, the person to whom it was directed, having perused its contents, paid the amount specified without the least hesitation ; but while doing so, though he asked no questions, he hinted that the order must be on account of the English Government, and that I must be entrusted with some mission of importance. As I was obliged to make inquiries of some one, I chose rather to hazard a question where confidence had already been reposed, than expose myself to persons who were still greater strangers to me. "Sir," said I, "you have been so prompt in honouring this draft that I need not fear to put one confidential question to you. Be so good as to inform me where is the main body of the Spanish army, under the command of La Romana?" "Oh," replied the German, "I guess your design. What,
do

do you suppose you can outwit Bonaparte? Let me tell you he is too many for you." "We can never know unless we try," I answered. "Try! That has been sufficiently tried already. I know of three or four who have attempted to reach the army: they and their papers were seized, and I need not allude to their fate." "Truly no great encouragement," I observed, "yet, try I must, and will. I can die but once." "That must be as you please, sir, let me only beg of you not to return to my house; I have no ambition to be shot or hanged on your account. Romana is at Nyborg, in the Isle of Fünen, a long way from here. Be assured you will never reach him. It was only the other day that the probability of the Marquis's evasion was discussed at a public dinner; some of the guests held

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held it to be a likely event ; others ridiculed such a notion ; but Bernadotte, who was present, pronounced it simply an impossibility." " Sir," said I, " you have it no doubt in your power to convey intelligence to Romana : as a merchant you have correspondence in every direction. Would you be kind enough to forward a letter from me through any friend ?" " That is what I neither can nor will undertake," answered the German. " I have told you where are his head-quarters—it is *your* business to do the rest—*mine* not to intermeddle. I have too much property at stake. Adieu."

Thus abruptly dismissed, I deliberated as to what was next to be done. On making some inquiries I learned that the Spaniards had their hospital near Altona, and that the sick were attended by a priest of their
own

own nation. Thus informed, I repaired to the Catholic chapel at Altona, and entering the vestry, requested an interview with the priest. The German missionary first presented himself; but I expressed a wish to see his Spanish colleague, who accordingly made his appearance, and whom I addressed in Latin. I began by saying that I felt assured a secret entrusted to a priest and a Spaniard would be held inviolable; the answer I received was a distinct promise to this effect. I then avowed myself a clergyman and brother, stated that I was charged with a very important communication to the Spanish Commander-in-Chief, and requested of his kindness that he would put me in the way of doing so with safety. The Castilian, candidly confessing in the first place that he was not in the habit of conversing in Latin,

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Latin, replied further that he was quite at a loss what to advise, and proposed to refer the matter to an invalid officer who could speak French. To this I demurred, intimating that the risk was too great; but my conductor assuring me that the officer of whom he spoke was a man of honour, and a patriot, I suffered myself to be led to him, and again exacting a promise of secrecy, which he gave on the honour of a Spanish cavalier, imparted to him the general purport of my commission, and was listened to with great attention. "I congratulate you," said the Spaniard, "on having had such a mission confided to you; and I also congratulate you on the precaution you have taken of carrying no papers. If Bernadotte himself were to call on me now, as he sometimes does, and find you here, there is

is no danger for you or me. I do not hold high rank in the army, and have no immediate relation with the Commander-in-Chief. I know not what his conduct may be on this critical occasion : but, were his sentiments such as your Government desires, what could he do without the concurrence of his subordinates ? The state of my health prevents my taking an active part either way : all that I can say is, that your secret shall remain buried in my bosom.”

“ If so, sir, may I at least hope that by your assistance I may get a letter conveyed to your general by some officer or private soldier returning from the hospital here to head quarters ? ”

“ That is a request,” replied the captain, “ which, from principle, I must refuse. Do you ask me why ? consider, sir, if a letter of that tenor were intercepted, the life of the bearer would

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would be in imminent jeopardy. How could I ask any one to carry such a paper, without at least putting him on his guard:—and how could that be done without risking a betrayal of your secret? No, no, sir, you are the man who undertook the task, you are the man to finish the work. I wish you success, but can do nothing to assist you.”

These arguments were too cogent to be controverted. I took leave of my Spanish friends and set about preparing for the dangerous journey, on the success of which my own fate and a train of momentous consequences depended.

During my stay in Hamburg I collected whatever information I could concerning the man to whom I was addressed. Romana's character stood high in the public opinion at Hamburg. When the Spaniards first reached

reached that city, they found the people strongly prejudiced against them. They had been represented by the malicious French as blood-thirsty bigots, who would be glad of a pretext to destroy all Protestants. But they had not been long in the place before they gained the love of the inhabitants by their friendly conduct and good discipline. The French ridiculed their want of alertness on parade ; but Romana drew up and circulated printed instructions for his officers, which were followed with such alacrity and intelligence, that the Spanish troops soon ceased to be a source of mirth to their captious critics.

Great jealousy existed between Bernadotte and the Marquis : the latter could not bear the imperious manner in which he was treated, and boldly reminded Bernadotte that he
also

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also was a Marshal,* one of older standing, too, than himself, and entitled, therefore, to the respect which the junior officer in every rank is bound to pay to his senior.

Romana had been for some time Governor of Hamburg, a post which the French generals who preceded him had turned to good account. They had levied whatever contributions they pleased, and lived with their troops at free quarters. One of them (Dupas, I believe) obliged the magistrates to furnish thirty-six dishes

* It does not appear from any biographical notice of La Romana that has fallen in my way that he had in fact attained this exalted military rank. I should conjecture that Mr. Robertson, or his informant, may have been misled by the use of the French term "*maréchal de camp*," which a civilian might fancy equivalent to *field-marshal*, but which, I believe, really means only "*major-general*."—ED.

dishes daily for his table. By this the reader may guess what their exactions were in other ways. The principal citizens remonstrated with Bernadotte, who thought he had left them no ground of complaint, when he restricted the Governor to *half* his accustomed number of dishes. Romana's conduct had been exactly the reverse of that which the French had pursued. When about to quit the place, he was entreated by the citizens to accept of a state-carriage as a mark of their respect and gratitude. "No," replied the generous Spaniard, "no, my good people, you have too many burthens to bear already—I will accept no present at your hands."

The following anecdote sets his character in a very amiable light. He had fixed his quarters for some time in a mansion belonging to one
of

of the most respectable families in the city. One day he said to the lady of the house: "I wish to make a present of some value to a young favourite of mine, and it has occurred to me that an assortment of such elegancies as Hamburg can supply would hardly fail to be acceptable to her. Now, madam, as a foldier, I do not understand these matters: will you have the goodness to make a selection of this kind for me? Here is a purse, you will oblige me by expending its contents to the best of your judgment. Let it be a liberal equipment in dresses and trinkets, and of the first fashion." The lady readily undertook the agreeable task, and after many days devoted to its execution, invited the Marquis to inspect her purchases. Nothing could be better chosen, and the Marquis intermingled many compliments on her

her taste with the thanks which he offered for the trouble she had so kindly taken. "But pray have you shown all this to your daughter?" "No, indeed, general." "Then oblige me by calling her." The daughter, a girl about thirteen, was enraptured with the finery she saw; but how shall I convey any notion of her delight when the Marquis added:—"My dear, this is a present which your mother makes you."

Such was the man whom Bonaparte hated and dreaded: such was the man to be delivered out of his hands.

I received information here that our Government had offered 200*l.* to any one who would convey to Romana's army the proclamations of the Spanish Junta. An individual, whom I will not mention, undertook to do so; and on his declaration that he

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he had accomplished the object, obtained the promised reward. How true his assertion was will appear in the sequel.

Before proceeding further, I deemed it necessary to apprize Mr. McKenzie of the distance I had to travel, and of the dangers that lay in my way, in order that more money might be placed at my disposal. Mr. McKenzie remitted a further sum, and with it sent intelligence of the commencement of the insurrection in Galicia and the Asturias; the names of the deputies from Spain to England; and their reception at court and in the city of London. Having now replenished my purse, I made it my first care to purchase a small quantity of the best Havannah cigars and a few pounds of chocolate. My next step was to present myself at the bureau with my Bremen passport,

port, in order to have it extended to Lübeck, which was conceded without difficulty. I preferred this circuitous route, because it furnished no clue to my ultimate destination. As a further precaution, I procured letters of introduction to several merchants, to each of whom I remitted a sum of money sufficient to insure civility at their hands without exciting suspicion. Being thus fully prepared, I departed from Hamburg in a return chaise and reached the shores of the Baltic in safety.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Condition of Lübeck during its Occupation by the French. Difficulties encountered in the Journey between Lübeck and the Isle of Fünen. Arrival at the Head-quarters of La Romana.

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THE engagement between the French and the Prussians, under Blücher, soon after the battle of Jena, will long be remembered by the ancient Hanseatic, and once free, city of Lübeck. It had not offended, nor was it subject to, either of the belligerents. Without the power of resistance, it was occupied by the retreating Prussians,

fians, who were attacked, and after a severe cannonading, driven from the town.

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The public vehicle which conveyed me to Lübeck carried back thither the lady of one of the citizens, whose story was rather singular. Their house, from its exposed situation, had suffered a good deal from the fire of the enemy, and still she remained in it; but when the soldiery broke in to plunder, she, though in the last stage of pregnancy, rushed into the street, where the fright brought on the pains of labour; a number of women formed a circle round her, and there, in the public market-place, under the canopy of heaven, was she delivered of a daughter, with whom she was now returning from Hamburg, where she had been on a visit to her relations. She assured me that the brutal victors showed

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showed her no pity even in that awful moment, and that, but for the humanity of one of the officers, she would have fallen a victim to their barbarity. I was politely invited to her house, which still bore the marks of the cannon-shot, and was entertained by her husband with great hospitality, notwithstanding the losses he had incurred by the war. The harsh and oppressive character of the military dominion established by the French was, in no instance, more revoltingly displayed than in their behaviour towards this defenceless city. To the hour of its final incorporation with the French empire its inhabitants were treated as enemies. Troops were continually quartered on them, and heavy contributions exacted, although they had never attempted resistance, nor taken any voluntary part in the war. Complaints

plaints and remonstrances were fruitless. Though, in conjunction with their neighbours and ancient confederates of Hamburg and Bremen, they sent deputation after deputation to Napoleon to sue for more lenient treatment, the rigour of his yoke was not relaxed. Such was the condition of the once free and imperial city at the date of my visit.

The merchants to whom I had addressees for credit or advice waited on me, and freely offered their services. When I mentioned my design of proceeding as far as Copenhagen, they expressed great surprise, and one and all assured me that no consideration would tempt them to venture so far, as the English vessels of war were swarming in the adjacent seas. I listened with feigned solicitude to their warnings, but signified that the profits of the adventure I had

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had in view would more than compensate for its perils. The only favour I had to ask of them was to procure me a passport from the Danish consul,—a service which was readily and successfully undertaken.

During my stay at Lübeck I formed an intimacy with a good-hearted Italian who had forsaken his country when he found it invaded by the French, and had since travelled a great deal. From him I learned the following anecdote of Canova. Bonaparte said one day to the artist: —“ Canova, I want you to make a statue for me.” “ Of whom ? ” inquired the other. “ Of Liberty,” said Napoleon. “ Liberty ! ” exclaimed the sculptor ; “ am I to represent her alive or dead ? ”

After one day spent in making the necessary arrangements, I took my departure for the Danish dominions
in

in a post-chaise, such as the country affords. Nothing worth recording occurred till I reached Kiel, a handsome town, near which the King of Denmark has a residence, where the court happened to be when the English took Copenhagen. On entering the town the usual questions were asked, but my passport was not examined. I learned that there was a vessel lying in the river, bound for Aroë, one of the Danish islands; and immediately proceeding to the quay, I hailed the ship and was taken on board without hesitation. Kiel is beautifully situated on a large navigable river which, a few miles below the town, empties itself into the Baltic, while, by means of an excellent canal, it communicates with Tonningen on the German Ocean. The Medical College has some repute, and the Botanic Garden is worth notice.

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notice. The royal country seat, where the queen then was, is but a short distance from Kiel.

One tide brought our vessel to the mouth of the river, where we anchored under the guns of a well-constructed fort. Here the master delayed for nearly two days, pretending fear of the English, who were cruising in the Belt. To my anxious inquiries when he would get under weigh, I received for an answer that it was very doubtful when the coast would be clear. It was easy to perceive that what he really was in doubt about was the character of his passenger. He said we must first be visited by the garrison of the fort, and begged I would not expose myself and him, if I had any reason to be afraid. He assured me, besides, that we should run great risk at landing, as he was not authorised

authorised to bring strangers into the country.

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I was prevailed on at length to return to Kiel, and to proceed further up by land. A wherry passing up the river took me from the vessel, which, the moment I left it, set sail and proceeded on her voyage. A short hour brought me to Kiel, where I took post without delay. From the driver of my chaise, an intelligent man, I learned that by crossing over to the Isle of Affens, I might save both time and money: besides which, I should travel with less publicity. The peasantry in the north of Germany and in Denmark accommodate travellers with horses and waggons nearly as good as the post-chaises, and much cheaper. They are, indeed, restricted from forwarding those who arrive by post, for the first day after their arrival. This regulation

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regulation can, however, be evaded. The driver proposed to carry me to a good farm-house a little off the post-road, where he assured me I should find comfortable accommodation, and might hire the farmer's car to carry me to the coast. The advice was adopted, and one day more brought me to a retired spot on the little Belt, where I hired for a dollar a very good passage-boat which landed me at Assens. This small island, about three miles broad, is separated from the continent by a very narrow strait, and from Fünen by another arm of the Baltic scarcely two hours' sail across. Immediately on landing I entered the town and lighted on a good inn and coffee-house, from which posting was expedited, and where the officer lodged who commanded a party of military in the place. Here it was necessary to

to produce the passport ; and an objection was made that it had not been inspected and marked since my entrance into the Danish dominions. I explained that this was owing to no fault of mine, but to the neglect of the functionaries, who had never called for it. I added that I had chosen a short route to avoid expense. Luckily, the officer, happening to be a Hanoverian who had entered the service of Denmark, was so delighted at hearing the latest news from his own country, that he at once admitted my excuse.

Here I made a show of taking orders for various articles, such as wines, cigars, &c., from the post-master and inn-keeper. These orders served afterwards as proofs that the purpose of my journey was commercial speculation. The drive across the little island was the work of that evening.

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evening. I passed the night at a tolerable inn at the ferry, where a bureau is kept for the inspection of passports, and a guard-house to prevent smuggling. Three men rowed the boat across next morning, and safely conveyed me to my land of promise, the Island of Fünen.

This was the principal station of the Spanish troops; and the inn to which I was conducted, on landing, proved to be the quarters of one of their colonels. A bed was found for me with difficulty. Next morning I was received politely by the old colonel, who was very deaf, but, fortunately for me, by no means dumb or uncommunicative. He readily imparted all he knew of the army, that the dealer in chocolate and cigars might know exactly where to find the customers of whom he was in quest. He stated that the Spanish contingent

contingent had consisted originally of 18,000 men, but desertion, fatigue, and disease had diminished its numbers considerably during the two years or more which had elapsed since it quitted Spain. He enumerated all the regiments and their respective stations, complained much of his own wretched quarters and hard usage: spoke despondingly of his failing health, and murmured at being kept in ignorance of the fate of his country.

He confirmed the intelligence that the Commander-in-Chief was at Nyborg with his staff. Thus instructed, I set out on my last day's journey, which brought me to the spot where the great purpose of my perilous mission was to be achieved or baffled, the head-quarters of the Marquis de la Romana.

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CHAPTER V.

*The Long-sought Interview obtained.
La Romana made acquainted with
the Proposal of the British Govern-
ment.*

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NYBORG is a fortified harbour and neat town on the Belt. Between it and Zealand were lying several English ships of war which kept both sides strictly blockaded ; yet at different times 3,000 Spaniards, availing themselves of the opportunities which the changes of wind and weather afforded them, had safely effected a transit to the opposite coast. About 8,000 remained

remained in Fünen, dispersed through its several towns.

It was about midnight when the carriage drove up to the best inn of the town. The season being midsummer, there was no darkness in this northern climate. The town-gates had been readily opened to us for a small fee; but the landlord of the hotel excused himself from admitting me on the plea that his house was quite full of Spaniards, the greater part of it being occupied by the General and his retinue. I urged in reply that his house had been specially recommended to me, and begged him to admit me in any way or on any terms. He then said there was not a room in the house in which I could be accommodated except one which he occupied himself, but that, if I pleased, he would put a second bed for me there. I closed

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closed with his offer the more readily as it seemed to me that in such a nook I should be all the more likely to escape observation. On my admission I ordered a good supper, and engaged the landlord to take his share with me of a very excellent bottle of wine, which encouraged conversation. I learned that the Marquis kept a numerous retinue and a good table, having two cooks and two *valets-de-chambre*, besides livery-servants : and, moreover, that he was a man of affable manners, and much beloved. A message delivered through one of his servants, the landlord said, would easily procure access to him, which might probably be followed by orders of goods for his army. Accordingly, next morning, after breakfast, I wrote in French to this effect :—

That a foreign merchant (*négo-*
ciant

ciant étranger) desired to have the honour of a private interview with his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in order to present to him samples of some articles he dealt in, and to solicit from his Excellency facilities for the prosecution of his further journey.

To prevent suspicion this note was sent open by the French valet, who returned immediately with a favourable reply. I took a box of my best cigars under my arm, and a few pounds of chocolate in my hand, and followed the Frenchman upstairs, not a little agitated, and doubtful of the event.

In an elegant saloon, through which I had to pass, were seated several general officers, *aides-de-camp*, and others, who eyed me steadfastly, then looked at each other significantly, and again measured me from head

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head to foot. I underwent this ocular scrutiny with conscious embarrassment, which increased when I found myself in the adjoining chamber. The Marquis was rather low of stature, but he had an air of dignity, and a look which bespoke deep penetration and cool reflection. His manner was distant at first, yet without any of that repulsive *hauteur* which is attributed to his countrymen. I was no sooner closeted with the illustrious grandee than I thus began my faltering speech :

“ Señor, you see before you a stranger who comes to put his life in your hands. I am a Catholic priest, chosen, perhaps, partly on that account for the mission I am about to explain, as it was imagined that a Spaniard might be disposed to put confidence in the word of a Catholic clergyman. I am directed to your
Excellency

Excellency by the English Government; but let me say at once, I have no papers whatsoever to deliver to you, so that, in the event of my being arrested, you cannot be compromised in the least degree; and, moreover, I desire no writing from you. My message is merely verbal; be your answer the same. All that I can offer in the way of credentials is the knowledge I have of certain particulars of your personal intercourse with Mr. Frere, whom you will remember as our Ambassador in Spain. He desires me to remind your Excellency that the first time he had the pleasure of dining with you was at Toledo. After dinner you withdrew together into a cabinet containing books. In this cabinet there was one picture. That picture was by Mengs, and represented St. Peter and St. John at the gate of
the

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the Temple." "All most true," exclaimed the General, his countenance assuming the most friendly aspect. "Would your Excellency recognise Mr. Frere's handwriting?" I continued. "Methinks I should!" Here I produced a very small fragment torn from a memorandum I had received from Mr. Frere, which was immediately recognised by the Marquis. Having thus established my credit as a confidential agent of the British Government, I added that "Mr. Frere had assured me I should find in the General a man of strict honour and high principle, and an enemy to French tyranny and oppression.

"The message," I continued, "with which I am charged, is to announce to your Excellency that England is ready to convey you and the troops under your command to
any

any country you may name. We ask nothing of you in return ; you shall be free from any engagement to fight for us ; in that respect act as you think proper. We simply wish to put it in your power to extricate yourself from your present position. Our transports shall attend your orders on any part of the coast. You may select South America, or Canada, Minorca, England, or Spain as your destination ; we are ready to forward your views, whatever they may be. If you desire a treaty in form, the British Government has authorised Mr. McKenzie to conclude one with you. He resides at Heligoland at present, and will there treat with any officer you may depute.

“ Further, although we do not pretend to dictate to the Spanish nation what course it ought to pursue, yet if resistance to the invader
be

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be resolved on, we are ready to co-operate with all our might. Our cavalry were never better mounted, nor our artillery better served. We long for an opportunity to try our strength on land with the French."

Having delivered my message without any interruption on the part of the General, I paused. But finding the Spaniard not inclined to break silence, I, for a moment, trembled for my own safety. "Is he," thought I, "so weak that he shrinks from any show of difficulty?—then he may be wicked enough to sell my life to Bonaparte, merely to give him a proof of his fidelity." "General," said I, in some agitation, "need I feel a doubt that I have idly reposed confidence in the honour of a Spanish Cavalier?" "Sir," answered the Marquis, in an impressive tone, "you have nothing to fear from me! But have

have you mentioned your errand to any one since your arrival on the Continent?" "I have, Señor, of necessity. Our Ministry could not inform me where you were quartered: they supposed you in garrison at Glückstadt on the Elbe. I first addressed myself to one of your priests who attends the sick. I bound him to secrecy; from him, I am convinced, there is nothing to be apprehended. He introduced me to one of your officers, who assured me he would sooner die than reveal my secret. He has been faithful to his word, otherwise I should not be here." "I ask you again," rejoined the Marquis, "are these the only persons in whom you have confided?" "I recollect one more—one to whom I presented a letter of credit, and who guessed my business the moment I inquired where your
Excellency

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Excellency was to be found." "I am sorry for it," replied the General. "So am I, my Lord, since you view the circumstance in that light; but will you be pleased to consider, that the person alluded to enjoys the confidence of our Ministry, otherwise I should not have been referred to him. I know he has too much property at stake in both countries to commit himself. I have reason, however, to complain, if after having refused to transmit to your Excellency a letter which I would have committed to his charge, he has been so officious as to acquaint you underhand with the nature of my mission. Will your Excellency now permit me to ask whether any other agent from the British Government has anticipated me, and especially whether any of the declarations of the Spanish nation have reached your army? I ask

ask this because a person whose domicile is on the Continent claims the credit of having conveyed those declarations to your quarters, and has actually received the reward which was offered for that service." "Be assured," replied the Marquis, "there is no truth in his assertion. If any such papers had been dispersed among my troops, they could not have escaped my notice. Yours is the first and only communication of this kind that has reached me either from England or from Spain."

"Well then, General; may I beg the favour of an answer to my principal? I have the means of forwarding it to Mr. McKenzie, and to London." "An answer—what now? surely you will not depart immediately!" "Certainly not, my Lord; though I came at the peril of my life, and remain at the same risk, I shall

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shall not take my departure to-day."

"Then we shall meet again?"

"Whenever your Excellency pleases.

I have a stock of choice cigars and chocolate for sale, which may furnish a pretext for a second interview."



CHAPTER VI.

Second Conference with the Spanish General. Promising, though not conclusive, indications of his disposition to accept the Offer made him on the part of England.

MY first conversation with La Romana ended in the manner I have related. Having disburthened my mind, the load of merchandize felt much lighter in my hand. Below I encountered a most inquisitive Jew, whose questions I answered very laconically. Pretending business, I fauntered out through the town, and on my return to the hotel found the windows over the gateway

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gateway occupied by the General and his officers. The moment I was observed to enter the house, a summons was brought down by the French valet for the man with the cigars. As I passed through the saloon the second time, a very visible alteration struck me : every face now beamed a friendly welcome. On my part, I could not entirely disguise the feelings by which I was agitated. On re-entering the Marquis' cabinet, I said, " I presume, General, I shall now have the honour of your reply?" " Sir," said he, " before I decide on your proposition, let me observe that we are utterly ignorant of what is going on in Spain. For a whole year, not one letter has been suffered to reach us. We know no more than the French choose to tell us in the public papers. In such intelligence we can put no trust. One of their

their fabrications is the reported death of your king on the 4th of June last."

"As to the affairs of Spain, General, you shall know through me whatever is known in England. And first, I have to inform you, that the insurrection has already commenced in Galicia and the Asturias. Already has a deputation arrived in London to solicit the aid and protection of our Government. The names of the Deputies* are Don Antonio —, Don

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* It would appear that at the time when Mr. Robertson reduced this narrative to writing, his memory had failed him a little as to the names of these Deputies. From *Toreno's "Historia del Levantamiento de España,"* we learn that the Deputies from the Asturias (who landed at Falmouth on the 6th of June, 1808) were the author himself, Don José Maria de Llano, then Vizconde de Matarrosa, afterwards Conde de Toreno, and Don Andres Angel de la Vega; and that the Deputy from Galicia (who arrived in England a few days later) was Don Francisco Sangro.

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Don Josef de —, Don Pedro —.”
“How!” interrupted the Marquis,
“these are men I know well; men
of the highest influence in the
country.” “So much the better,
my Lord, you best can say whether
they are men of honour and prin-
ciple.” “They are, indeed!” he
replied. “I rejoice to hear it,” I
rejoined, “for I conclude the Com-
mander-in-Chief of the Spanish
troops in Denmark will be of one
mind with such men.” “They
would have us believe,” observed the
General, “that there was a universal
jubilee in Spain at the arrival of
Joseph there. But we are little dis-
posed to credit such a tale. Still,
what can I do, situated as I am at
present? My troops are dispersed
through all the provinces and islands
of Denmark. In Seeland there are
8,000 men, 2,000 in Langeland;
some

some are in Jutland, others in Sleswick : had the English not blockaded the Belt we might all have been in Seeland, and then we might have attempted something." "If it be not too late," I replied, "our Government, I doubt not, will act on the slightest intimation of your wish, and leave your passage to Seeland unobstructed." "That would be attended with too much *éclat*," remarked the General. "Well, Señor, if you cannot rescue all, rescue at least what portion of your force you can."

"Alas ! to what purpose?" answered the Marquis ; "what can we — what can Spain do against France ? Never did Europe groan under such a slavery. Liberty still finds a refuge in England, it is true ; but even England, that last remaining bulwark against the Usurper, is not exempt

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empt from danger, while so much discontent prevails in Ireland, and while your Government demurs about granting to the Catholics equal rights with their fellow-subjects. What is not to be dreaded in that vulnerable part of the British dominions? And, if Britain fall, who shall stand?" "General, as to the state of Ireland, I might be prepared to answer you. I have but lately left that country, where I spent some years; and, more recently, I have listened to the debates on Catholic Emancipation in both Houses of Parliament. As a Catholic, I must regret with your Excellency the unjust delay of that measure, the concession of which would, no doubt, strengthen our common cause. But during the reign of George III. much has been done for the benefit of the Catholics, and they are not
ungrateful

ungrateful for it; what remains to be conceded will come in progress of time: any insurrectionary movement would infallibly retard that epoch; any service we can render the State ought to accelerate it, and surely will. We have no fear," I continued, "for the present, either of rebellion at home or invasion from abroad; the disgraceful supineness and passive submission of other countries, constitute our chief difficulty." "But the rest of Europe does nothing?" "Throughout the greater part of Europe, General, the indignant feeling of the people is held in restraint by their rulers,—by princes unworthy of their station, who, to preserve a shadowy semblance of royal dignity for themselves and their families, are content to sacrifice their own honour and the welfare of their subjects. So they accept

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accept their condition of vassalage, while a mistaken sentiment of allegiance paralyzes the resistance of their subjects, even when handed over to a foreign Despot. Your nation is at liberty to act for itself. Your Sovereigns exist no more for you. To you it is that Europe must look for a great example. Who knows what it may produce? Already Austria is prepared to strike the blow. If you command, I will at once repair to the Arch-Duke Charles, apprise him of your sentiments, and point out to him that his duty and interest alike require he should boldly espouse the cause of a country over which he, in default of the dethroned Bourbons, has the best right to reign." On this the Marquis made some very pertinent remarks. He seemed much to wish that a Regent should be appointed immediately,

immediately, one, if possible; of the blood-royal, with a council of Regency to assist him in the Government. He recommended that every exertion should be used to prevent Bonaparte from attacking South America, or the other dependencies of Spain. He stated the exact number of troops necessary to occupy Minorca and the other Balears, &c. I expressed the fullest confidence that the Spanish-American territories, with all their resources, would be effectually protected from the ambition of the Usurper, and that we should eventually be able to wrest the whole of Spain from his grasp.

This interesting interview was frequently interrupted by the intrusive entrance of the French valet. As often as he appeared, the conversation turned on the cigars and the chocolate

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late. When we were left alone the Marquis remarked that he was surrounded by spies, and could not be too circumspect. In conclusion, he said, he should require some time to collect and prepare his officers and men for embarkation. He would not pledge himself to anything. He had not been asked, and he was not inclined, to give any written answer to the proposal I had conveyed to him; neither would he promise to correspond with me at Hamburg, though he took a note of my address in that city. I requested to know whether he could in any way help me to get on board any English vessel off the coast. His answer was, of necessity, in the negative. To attempt this might endanger the success of the whole undertaking. But he seemed to think it might be practicable for me to escape the vigilance of

made on the part of England.

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of the Danish sentinels who guarded the coast. Elated with this hope I took my leave.

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Chapter



CHAPTER VII.

Fruitless attempt to communicate with the English Fleet. Arrest, and subsequent dismissal. The Host's Suspicions disarmed. Final Interview with La Romana, who closes with the Proposal of the British Government.

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ON quitting the Marquis I repaired to the shore, within sight of the town, and of the English fleet. I sauntered about on the beach with a small linen bag in my hand, filling it, leisurely, with the pebbles and shells which I gathered, and occasionally casting away a portion of my stock for some new acquisition

acquisition that seemed to please me better. Ever and anon I took out a white handkerchief, which I waved, as if by accident, in the hope of being descried from the fleet. I had walked some distance along the shore, and had succeeded in attracting the notice of the English; but, alas! to little purpose; for at the moment I thought a boat was putting off for me, I was observed by a Danish militia-man, who lay couched on the grass, with his musket beside him. There was no retreating. I saw that my safety depended solely on my self-possession. Accordingly I stepped up to the man and greeted him in German. I congratulated Denmark on having such vigilant protectors against their faithless enemies (pointing to the fleet), and inquired how I might manage to get across the Belt, without falling into the hands of the English.

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English. In spite of the best countenance I could put on, the Dane eyed me very suspiciously, but recommended me to address myself to a fisherman who was the owner of several boats, and who lived in the next cottage. Hither, accordingly, I proceeded; but while treating with the boatman, six sturdy Danes rushed in with fixed bayonets, and presenting their weapons to my breast, demanded, with menacing gestures, who I was. As often as memory reverts to this incident, I am compelled to wonder at the presence of mind and composure of manner with which I was gifted by a gracious Providence at that perilous moment, when both were so needful to my safety. Conscious that the least appearance of timidity would betray me, I raised my heart to God, begging to be fortified, and calmly replied :

plied : " I am a merchant." " Have you a passport ?" " Certainly : " I answered. " Show it !" " Here it is !" It was in German, and not one of the party could read it. They, of course, condemned it as not good. " Why not good ?" said I ; " don't you know the arms of your king ? Look at this seal." " No, it won't do," was the reply. " Where do you come from ?" " From Nyborg." " We will conduct you back to Nyborg." " That as you please," I replied ; " but as I found my way hither along the shore, I cannot mistake my way back again." " We will take care you shall not : come along with us."

When I left the cottage, thus escorted, the sight drew the attention of the whole village, and some hundreds of people crowded round to express their indignation at the audacity

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dacity of the intruder, and their spiteful joy at his capture. One young girl among the rest pressed anxiously forward to have a gaze at the prisoner, and to her I jocosely held out my hand in token of friendship. But no common felon, no murderer, was ever treated with greater scorn than I was for my misplaced gallantry. The repulsive gesture of the damsel did not in the least discompose me, but, on the contrary, served as a good diversion, and produced, very seasonably, a hearty and general burst of laughter. The soldiers knew not what to do with their prize. First they questioned me closely, and then they offered me a glass of brandy, but still nothing could be gathered from my words or looks. In a short time they reached another village, where the Serjeant of the party was quartered. To him they reported

reported the prisoner they had made, expecting, no doubt, much praise for their achievement. This Serjeant turned out to be a very honest-hearted Hanoverian.

Leaving the party in the kitchen, he led me into his own apartment, and accosted me in good German: "What the devil," said he, "tempted you to throw yourself into the hands of these fellows?" "Do not be uneasy on my account, sir," I replied, "I have not the least cause for fear." "Have you a passport, then?" "Undoubtedly." "Let me look at it. Why, this is a very excellent passport: but why did they arrest you?" "Because they cannot read." "I am the more sorry for their mistake," rejoined the Serjeant, "because I have not authority to rectify it. Being only a subaltern, I cannot release any one brought to
me

me as a prisoner." "So I conceive," said I; "but what do you intend to do with me?" "I must transport (escort) you." "Transport me! Whither, I pray?" "To Nyborg." "That I rejoice to hear," said I. "My goods and luggage are left there at my lodgings." "At what house?" "At the first hotel." "I beg pardon, sir, none but gentlemen of distinction frequent that house." "And I generally frequent the company of gentlemen. But, my good Serjeant," I continued, "I have one favour to ask. You know it would be very vexatious, and not very creditable to a gentleman and a merchant to be marched publicly into the town, escorted like a criminal, by six of your countrymen well armed. You can save me that disgrace; come with me yourself. I am an old man, and cannot run from you: weapons

I have none but this walking-stick ; if you are afraid of it I will throw it away. Take what arms you please, but be you my only escort." " Agreed," replied the friendly Serjeant ; let me dismiss my men, and I will attend you."

The party went off, accordingly, not a little disappointed : and the good Hanoverian, girding on his sabre, set forth with his charge.

After we had left the village, the Serjeant proposed to wait on his Colonel, whose country-seat was but a short distance off the direct road to Nyborg. " If you have no objection," he said, " to be presented to him, I have little doubt but he will set you at liberty, which I could not take on myself to do." I, of course, gladly acceded to his proposal, and in a short time we reached the Colonel's residence. We found him engaged

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engaged with a small party at a game of nine-pins, or skittles. He was a very young man, and remarkably polite. He examined my passports, and found them all perfectly regular.

“Sir,” said he, “I am, indeed, very sorry that the soldiers under my command should have caused you so much uneasiness and trouble; your passports are quite satisfactory. But my men are so ignorant, they cannot read German; and you see we are beset by enemies on all sides: no wonder we should look on every strange face with suspicion. For these reasons I hope you will excuse the treatment you have met with, and console yourself with the reflection that you have seen a very pleasant part of the country.” “Sir,” I replied, “if your country is a pleasant one, it is the more worthy of such inhabitants as yourself. And
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as for your men, they have only done their duty. I give them credit for it, and rejoice to see that your coast is so watchfully guarded." "My men and their Colonel are obliged to you, sir, for your good opinion. I have the honour," he continued, "to wish you a good evening: you are at perfect liberty, sir, to depart when you please, and proceed in what direction you will."

I thanked him politely for his kindness, and, rejoicing not a little in such an issue to the adventure, took leave of the good-natured Hanoverian, and returned, much fatigued in body and mind, to my inn at Nyborg. On my arrival my worthy host, with whom I had previously been on fair terms, encountered me with a scrutinizing glance, and inquired where I could have been the entire day.

My answer to his rude interrogations
was

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was in the angriest tone I could assume. I poured forth a bitter invective against his country and his countrymen, and announced my determination to quit Nyborg with all possible dispatch, lest I should incur a repetition of the scandalous treatment I had experienced that morning. This fierceness of demeanour on my side produced the very opposite manifestation on the part of my host. He smoothed his front on the instant, and warmly invited me to sup with himself and his wife in their private room. But I declined the proffered civility, saying that I was, just then, in no humour for company ; and requesting that my supper might be sent to me in my own apartment. He followed me, however, to my room, entreating me to tell him what had occurred to excite my displeasure ; and, in particular, what he himself had done
to

to offend me. Now the fact was, I had put on all this show of resentment for the mere purpose of escaping the society of the Jew above mentioned, of whom, I confess, I was much afraid. He had supped frequently with the landlord and myself, and I perceived that he eyed me with the strongest suspicion, while he kept teasing me with questions with the ill-disguised view of extracting something from me that might afford him an opportunity of denouncing me to the police. So, after assuring my host that I had no cause to be ill-pleased with him personally, I related to him what had happened to me during the day, ending, of course, with my honourable dismissal by the Colonel. He now redoubled his efforts to pacify me, and begged again and again that I would favour him and his wife with
my

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my company for that evening ; there should be no one there, he said, but themselves, not even the Jew ; and he would endeavour to make me forget my ill-usage and chagrin by a good supper and a bottle of his best wine.

Having thus gained my object without betraying myself, or even creating suspicion by mentioning my dislike to the Jew's society, I pretended to be softened, accepted the kind invitation, ate a hearty supper, of which, indeed, I stood much in want, and spent a very agreeable evening.

On my way from my room I passed the bottom of the staircase which the Marquis and some of his officers were at the time ascending : he leaned over the banisters, and, in a half-whisper, and broken English, said, " Come to me—morrow morning—

ing—eight o'clock;" I bowed assent and passed on. I was punctual to the time, and was received with the utmost kindness. His Excellency said that he had fully weighed my important communication, and after consulting with some of his officers in whom he placed unreserved confidence, had finally determined to accept the proposal of the English Government, and would immediately proceed to take his measures, which, of course, required the greatest circumspection. Most fortunately, he had sometime before written to Bernadotte, proposing that he should come to Nyborg and review the Spanish troops; to which Bernadotte had partly consented, but without fixing the time. His Excellency determined to take advantage of this circumstance; and, under pretence of a general review and inspection, to collect
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as many of his troops as he could at head-quarters. He expressed his sorrow that it was not in his power to place me out of danger, advised me not to delay my departure, lest I should excite suspicion by my long sojourn at his hotel; thanked me cordially for the valuable service I had rendered him at such imminent risk, and assured me, that if it should please God to restore him to his country, he would on all occasions be ready to bear his cordial testimony to the admirable manner in which I had executed my commission. After this assurance he again expressed his strong anxiety for my personal safety, and in the kindest and most condescending manner bade me farewell.

Thus ended my last interview with this excellent and patriotic nobleman. I left him impressed with an exalted
idea

idea of his virtuous and dignified character, and with feelings of intense interest for the success of the undertaking to which he was now committed ; an undertaking so hazardous to himself, so pregnant with momentous consequences to his country and the cause of Europe.

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CHAPTER VIII.

Alarms and difficulties encountered in the Return to Hamburg. Small apparent chance of escaping thence to England. Welcome tidings of the Evasion of La Romana and the greater part of the Troops under his command.

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HAVING now accomplished the object of my mission, I began to consider how I should effect my return, which, indeed, seemed beset with difficulties not less formidable than those which had attended my journey hither.

I told my landlord that finding it impracticable

impracticable to reach Copenhagen, as was my original intention, and having got a few orders from the Marquis, I should, without loss of time, set out on my return to Hamburg. He expressed regret at losing me so soon, and begged I would have the goodness to take an order from him for the inn-keeper at Affens, his stock of rum and brandy being almost exhausted.

The following morning I took leave of my host and proceeded, without interruption, to Affens, where my passport had formerly been examined and marked. But I was doomed to meet with a very serious impediment on this occasion, and one which might,—had my self-possession failed,—have put an effectual stop to my further progress. On entering the hotel, or coffee-house, I took notice of a group of men who were busy

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busy over their bottle, and observed among them one of particularly ferocious aspect, who rose almost immediately, and, with the authoritative air of a man in office, demanded my passport. It was produced accordingly, when casting his eye over it in a manner which convinced me he could not read it, he declared it "not good." I was much provoked at his insolent manner, and could not refrain from using angry words towards himself and his associates, which, however, he bore with perfect indifference. I found my way to a private room, where my luggage had been left, but hither he followed me and insisted on inspecting my portmanteau. I offered no resistance, and he proceeded to unfold every article it contained. Even my dressing case underwent a strict examination ; and when he discovered my shaving-

shaving-brush rolled up in a piece of paper, he seized on the poor scrap with the greatest avidity. Alas ! nothing but disappointment awaited him,—it was part of a letter, of no consequence whatsoever, and written in German ; for I had taken particular care that there should be nothing English about me to create suspicion. Foiled in this, he turned his thoughts another way ; and when I went down to discharge my chaise, he insisted on seeing in what coin I was going to pay the postilion. I was determined that I would not submit to this piece of insolence, and positively refused to pay the man a shilling while he looked on. The poor postilion stood trembling all the while, and was only too happy to have an excuse for driving away, fearing, doubtless, that he might be called to account for having brought

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a suspicious person into the town ; so he actually left Affens without receiving his fare. The man in authority then withdrew, taking my passport with him. My troubles were not yet at an end, for the landlord of the hotel, who had been hitherto a silent spectator, now came forward and began to make an apology for not being able to accommodate me ; but I cut him short by observing that it was a matter of no consequence ; that I had indeed intended to give him a considerable order which I had received from the keeper of the principal hotel at Nyborg, for rum and brandy, but that I would now reserve it for someone else. The effect was electrical, the change from smothered insolence to open servility was instantaneous. Every thing was at my command,—rather than disappoint any gentleman coming
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ing from that house (at Nyborg), and bringing such recommendations as I had brought, he would turn all his other customers out of doors. This sudden alteration had, of course, the effect of reconciling me; and, as nothing was to be gained by leaving his house, I agreed to stay there that night, and delivered to him the order I had received for the foreign spirits.

My passport was returned to me in about two hours by the same official personage who had taken it, and who now, with many apologies for the trouble I had been put to, informed me that it was perfectly good.

I left Assens the following morning, after giving money to my host to satisfy the demands of my timorous postilion, and proceeded on my journey homewards.

I chose the same route I had
before

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before taken, passing through Kiel to Lübeck, and thence to Hamburg, without any serious interruption. Here I took lodgings in one of the suburbs, that I might avoid the interrogatories at the gates of the town; and I embraced the opportunity offered me of writing to Mr. McKenzie, at Heligoland, to report the successful accomplishment of my mission, and to request that instructions might be sent to the commanders of the British fleet in the Baltic, to hold themselves in readiness to communicate with the Spanish General.

My chief solicitude now was as to the means of effecting my own escape, the obstacles to which appeared insurmountable. I endeavoured to get off by Cuxhaven, but found this impracticable. My thoughts then reverted to my old friend

friend the smuggler, who had so admirably managed my landing on the Continent; accordingly I set off for Bremen, and paid him a visit at his house in the country. It would be difficult to exaggerate the surprise and alarm which he manifested on beholding me. Without giving me time to speak, he cried out, "For God's sake, begone! I know what you want—I absolutely can do nothing for you. Do not bring ruin upon me by staying under my roof." On coming to an explanation, I found that he had fallen under suspicion after my departure, and that his house had been most strictly searched. Unwilling, therefore, again to compromise his safety, I returned immediately to Brèmen, and from Bremen to my old lodgings in the vicinity of Hamburg.

And here I received the happy tidings

tidings of the Marquis de la Romana's efcape with the greater part of his army. I fhould vainly attempt to defcribe my feelings on this occafion. To know that, through my humble instrumentality, upwards of ten thoufand men had been refcued from exile and reftored to their country, their homes, and the caufe of Europe, overpowered me with joy; and my gratitude to God, who had enabled me to perform this great fervice, and miraculoufly preferved me through all the dangers attendant upon fo ferious an undertaking, was without bounds. But a few days after, I had the mortification of feeing fome of the poor Spaniards, who had been unable to get off, brought prifoners into Hamburg. One day, two Spanifh officers entered the fhop of my landlord, who was a faddler, to difpofe of fome of the
trappings

trappings of their horses. I was in the shop at the time, and addressed some questions to them in French. The fury they displayed on the instant was terrific, and I verily believe, that on the mere presumption of my being a Frenchman, I should have suffered personal maltreatment at their hands, had I not now, in absolute fear of my life, avowed myself an Englishman. I now ran almost equal risk from their extravagant demonstrations of affection, for they caught me in their arms, kissed me, called me a thousand times the *bueno Ingles*, and almost smothered me in their embraces. When they had a little recovered from their transport, and I from its consequences, we entered into conversation, as well as we could, in Italian, and I learned from them some particulars attending La Romana's escape from Nyborg. I endeavoured

endeavoured to gather their opinion as to the feelings which the Spaniards generally entertained towards Bonaparte. I pretended to show the utter hopelessness of any attempt on the part of Spain to shake off the French yoke. "Look," said I, "at the state of Europe, prostrate at the feet of the Corsican : his power acknowledged from Paris to Moscow : from the German Ocean to Naples and Sicily : from Stockholm and Copenhagen to Lisbon and Cadiz. It is vain attempting to resist his ascendancy—you must obey—*bisogna ubbidire*."

They had listened so far with impatience, but they could bear it no longer, and they ejaculated with vehemence, "*Ubbidire! Morire prima.*"

Having thus elicited the spirit of these two Spaniards, and received an impression that the people of the country generally were of the same mind

of La Romana and his Troops.

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mind, I warmly expressed the pleasure I felt at witnessing their enthusiasm, and confessed that I looked to Spain with some hope as the field where the final struggle for the liberty of Europe would be decided. They declared their confidence in the spirit of their countrymen. "Give them but arms and leaders," said they, "and they will shed the last drop of their blood to maintain their country's independence."

After some more conversation of the same kind, we bade each other farewell, with assurances on both sides of esteem and friendship, and prayers for the success of the good cause.

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Chapter



CHAPTER IX.

*Of the manner in which La Romana
effected the withdrawal of his Troops
—Notice of his subsequent history.*

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ON first receiving the intelligence of the Spanish army having got off, I communicated it to Mr. McKenzie, through the usual channel, viz. Cuxhaven, and desired that when the announcement of the great fact appeared in the English papers, it should be stated that the individual, who had opened the communication with La Romana on the part of the British Government,

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Government, had happily returned in safety to England. This, I thought, might tend in some degree to lull the vigilance of the French emissaries on the Continent,—a point of vital importance to me, since, as matters stood, I found it perfectly impossible, notwithstanding my knowledge of the country and its language, to effect my escape.

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It will not be improper in this place briefly to relate the manner in which La Romana managed his delicate undertaking, and some of the circumstances attendant on the embarkation of his army.

He began, as I before mentioned, to collect as many of his troops as possible at Nyborg, and whilst employed in this way he wrote again to Bernadotte, urging him to come thither and review the army at his earliest convenience. In consequence
of

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of this request, Bernadotte was on the point of setting out for Nyborg with only a few attendants, when the Spanish Colonel mentioned in a former part of this narrative, (who was living in the vicinity of Hamburg for his health,) interposed with his advice that he should take a detachment of troops with him, as he (the Colonel) strongly suspected treachery. Upon this, Bernadotte hastily collected about 3,000 men, and marched for Nyborg with all possible expedition. La Romana was informed of his being on the way, and determined at once to embark with that portion of his army which he had got together, consisting of about 10,000 men. Having prepared all his measures, he invited the civic officers of Nyborg and the principal inhabitants, together with his own officers, to a grand entertainment

effected the withdrawal, &c.

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tainment. After the *déjeuner*, the troops were ordered to go through their manœuvres for the gratification of the company, and, according to instructions, the officers proceeded to surround the hotel. The Marquis then stood up, and addressing his guests, assured them all of their personal safety, but added, that peculiar circumstances rendered it imperative on him to put them under a temporary arrest. At the last mentioned word, two French officers who were of the company, started up and laid their hands on their swords, ejaculating, in wonder and indignation, "Arrest!" "Gentlemen," continued the Marquis, "resistance is perfectly useless;" upon which the door opened, and in rushed a party of grenadiers, with fixed bayonets. The Frenchmen, seeing the folly of opposition, delivered their swords.

The

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The Spaniards immediately marched down to the harbour and pressed into their service every boat and bark which could assist them in reaching the English fleet. On a signal being given, the English boats put in to their assistance, and a scene of activity and bustle ensued such as the inhabitants of Nyborg had never witnessed before. When the whole of the Spaniards had embarked, except about 300 men who were covering the embarkation, Bernadotte arrived with his army, and found, to his confusion, that his prisoner, as he well might have deemed him, had eluded his vigilance, and was already beyond his reach.

The handful of Spaniards who remained on land, putting themselves in an attitude of defence, showed a determination to sell their lives as dearly as possible, but the
Colonel

Colonel who commanded them, riding to their front and pointing out to them, in a few words, the hopelessness of any resistance to a force so much superior to their own, desired them to lay down their arms. They reluctantly complied. He then dismounted, and, taking the pistols from his holster, shot his charger, ejaculating, "But as for thee, they shall never mount thee; and me," he continued, putting a pistol to his head, "they shall never disarm." Thus, by his own hand, fell this high-minded Spaniard—a sacrifice, in the prime of life, to an overstrained sentiment of chivalrous honour, which, though we are forced to condemn it, we find it difficult not to admire.

Bernadotte returned to Hamburg with his prisoners to brood over his disappointment. La Romana and his
army

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army failed for England, and subsequently for Spain, where they did good service in the field. Romana's presence in Spain was specially important, on account of his intimate knowledge of the country, of its resources, and of the spirit of the people. He powerfully aided the common cause by inspiring the nation with confidence in their English allies, assisting these with his valuable advice, and zealously co-operating with them in all their operations. He was beloved by the army and the people—beloved by all who had the good of Spain at heart—for his pure and disinterested patriotism and for his kind and conciliatory manners. He was hated with equal sincerity by all who aimed at enriching themselves through the ruin of their country, on account of his inflexible probity and the ceaseless

ceaseless vigilance by which he detected their most secret plots and cabals.

Such was the man who, with ten thousand of the best troops of Spain, was, through my humble instrumentality, restored to his country in the very crisis of her fortunes, to act a vigorous part in the memorable struggle against her oppressors. To the value of his services in that great conflict we have the highest testimony of his friend and brother in arms—the Duke of Wellington, who, in despatches written soon after La Romana's death (in 1811), says: "His talents, his virtues, and his patriotism were well known to His Majesty's Government, and I shall always acknowledge with gratitude the assistance I have received from him, as well by his operations as by his counsel. In him the Spanish
army

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army have lost their brightest ornament, his country their most upright patriot, and the world the most strenuous and zealous defender of the cause in which we are engaged."

The following short memoir appeared in the *Lisbon Gazette*:—

"Senhor Don Pedro Caro y Sureda, Marquis of Romana, Grandee of Spain, Knight of the Grand Cross of the Royal Order of Charles III, Captain-General of the armies of his Catholic Majesty, was born at Palma, the capital of the Island of Majorca. After an education suitable to his high birth, during which he made rapid progress in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, emulous of his father's glory, who terminated his life most honourably in the expedition against Algiers in 1775, he commenced his military career in the Marine Guards
in

Subsequent history.

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in the Royal fleet, where he continued till the revolutionary war with France; at which period, being captain of a frigate, he entered with the rank of colonel into the army of Navarre, under the orders of his uncle, Lieutenant-General Don Ventura Caro, and afterwards into that of Catalonia, in which, by his valour and signal services, he worthily obtained successive posts, and arrived at the rank of Lieutenant-General. In 1801 he was appointed Captain-General of Catalonia and President of its Royal Audience, in which employment he had occasion to display his great abilities and political knowledge. He was afterwards named General of the Engineers and Counsellor of War. The insidious views of the Tyrant of Europe induced him to separate from Spain the greater part of her best troops, in
the

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the command of whom Romana conducted himself with all the propriety and delicacy he was so noted for. In the midst of the snows of the North, he was informed by a confidential agent* of the Government, not without the most imminent danger, of the state of his beloved country. He vowed to succour it with his troops, to accomplish which he overcame a thousand difficulties and dangers. In the command of the army of the North he executed most skilful retreats and movements, suspending and frustrating the projects of the enemy, whose forces were always superior. A short time after he was called to the Central Junta, where he presented himself, not as a victorious General,

* The Rev. J. Robertson.

General, but as the most modest Representative, manifesting all the force of his character in the vote that he gave, in the month of October, 1809, upon the necessity of forming a Council of Regency. On the 24th of January following, finding the supreme government dispersed by the invasion of Andalusia by the French, he returned to take the command of the army of Estramadura, where his presence was of such importance, that to it, in a great measure, was owing the enthusiasm manifested at Badajos and throughout the province. The endeavours the enemy made from that time, and the dexterity with which Romana knew to oppose them and defeat their plans, we well know, until Estramadura being free, and Massena advancing upon the lines of Torres Vedras, he hastened with
two

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two divisions of his army to the assistance of the Allies. On his way, and in the city of Lisbon, he received many proofs of estimation. Afterwards he fought constantly at the side of his illustrious friend, Lord Wellington, the worthy appreciator of his merits and virtues, whose testimony alone would be sufficient to prove the great loss which Spain and the common cause of the Allies have suffered by his death, were we even without proofs of the public enthusiasm which his name and fame inspired in all parts.

“Romana died, after a short illness, at Cartaxo, the head-quarters of Lord Wellington, the 23rd of January, 1811, in the 49th year of his age.



CHAPTER X.

Personal Narrative resumed. Escape to England immediately, or by a direct route, found impracticable. Circuitous journey through Central and Southern Germany. Erfurth the Head-quarters of the French Emperor. Retrospective Notice of a transaction which had brought the Author into contact with Napoleon when First Consul. Ratisbon and Lintz. Sojourn there. Munich. Intelligence of the French reverses in Spain circulated through Bavaria by the Author's agency. Important discovery of his proceedings. Hasty return to Lintz.

After

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FTER my unsuccessful attempts to elude the vigilance of the enemy and to escape to England, I turned my thoughts towards my old abode in Ratisbon ; proposing to myself to pass some time in the south of Germany, and there to await a favourable opportunity of returning to my native country. I resolved to take Erfurth in my route, and gratify my curiosity by seeing once more the Arbiter of the Continental Nations, who was then holding his celebrated conference with the Emperor Alexander. Though I had been the agent in counteracting one of his keenest strokes of policy, yet I felt that no compunction, on that score, would stir within me at his presence, nor was I afraid of his penetrating eye. I had seen him some years before,

before, ere he had assumed the Imperial purple, and had even received from him what I regarded as a great, though it was not a personal, favour. During the peace of Amiens I had visited Paris; and, finding that in the sweeping confiscation of monastic property, which was one of the prominent features of that short-lived truce, the Scotch Seminary at Ratibon, in which I had been educated, was to share the general doom, I hastily drew up and presented to the First Consul a memorial, calling his attention to the peculiar situation of that establishment, which, though under the superintendence of the abbot and monks of the Scotch Benedictine Abbey, and located within the walls of that ancient house of religion, was, nevertheless, a separate and distinct foundation, intended only for the education
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of Scottish youth, without reference to their ulterior destination; consequently, it was neither an ecclesiastical nor a monastic institution. Bonaparte acknowledged the justice of the plea; and orders were issued to exempt the Scotch Seminary from the confiscation. Need I suggest that, had I now chanced to attract his notice, and had he discovered that the humble suppliant for his favour on one occasion had been the zealous and successful agent of his implacable enemies on another, I should have had little mercy to expect at his hands? But, as I said above, I had a strong desire to visit Erfurth, and thither I went, taking up my abode in the Scotch monastery there, which was a branch of that in Ratisbon, and under the same abbot.* After

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* The Seminary remains to this day, and is conducted

a short sojourn with my old colleagues, the brothers Hamilton, then professors of that University, I left for Ratisbon; and on my way visited the field of the celebrated battle of Jena, which only three years before had proved so fatal to the Prussian Monarchy. It was my fate that I, peaceful as my profession was, should, like too many a brave soldier, have reason to remember that field; for, in passing over some very uneven ground, I accidentally fell, and cut my knee severely. I tried to console myself

conducted on the same principles, and in the same manner as it had been previously to the period here spoken of, though the Monastery was handed over to the Archbishop of Mayence, as part of the indemnity granted to him for the loss of his Electoral territory on the Rhine. The Monastery likewise remains, though the number of its inmates is reduced; but being now re-established by the King of Bavaria, it is expected to flourish again. ED.

myself for my mishap by the thought that I should always be able to boast of having fallen and bled on the field of Jena.

I reached Ratibon in safety, but remained there only a few weeks, proceeding thence to Lintz, which I made my head-quarters for the winter. Here I had the society of my old friend and colleague, Mr. Alexander Horn ; and possessed the advantage of constant communication with London. On receiving, while still at Lintz, the account of one of the most signal victories gained by Lord Wellington over the French in Spain, I determined on spreading the news as much as possible ; and for that purpose translated the Duke's dispatches into German, and had them printed for distribution. The more fully to effect my purpose of giving a wide publicity to the disasters of the
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the French army in the Peninsula, I took a secret journey to Munich, where I had an old friend, who, though admitted to the inner circle of the Court, was, I knew, for certain cogent reasons, by no means well affected to the French party in that capital. To him I made my object known, and with his connivance I sallied out during the darkness of the evening, and in various parts of the city dropped a number of the printed documents which I had brought with me. I was, of course, not insensible to the danger of the enterprise, and was, therefore, not much surprised when, shortly after reaching my friend's house, he returned from a visit to the palace, and informed me that some of the papers had already found their way thither, and were creating the greatest excitement. He advised me to depart

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part at once, and repass the frontiers of Bavaria with all possible dispatch. The advice of a friend so clear-sighted and judicious was not to be despised, and I therefore followed it to the letter ; urging my postilions, by a liberal distribution of gold, to put the mettle of their cattle to the proof, until I found myself once more in the territories of Austria. How needful all my speed had been, I was soon convinced by a letter I received from my kind monitor, informing me that I had scarcely left Munich when orders were issued to the police to shut the gates, and institute the strictest possible search for the incendiary who had dared to circulate such intelligence in the stronghold of French influence in Germany. And on the presumption that, after scattering his hand-bills, he might have betaken himself to flight, light troops

troops were dispatched in every direction, with orders to bring in the suspected criminal, dead or alive. I need not say how grateful I felt for my providential deliverance from so great a danger ; for there can be little doubt that my arrest would have led to the discovery, not only of the author and disseminator of the noxious hand-bills, but of the agent who had managed the escape of la Romana ; and I should, of course, have been delivered over to the tender mercies of Bonaparte.

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CHAPTER XI.

Further removal from Lintz to Vienna and Dresden. Imminent peril encountered in the latter city. Flight and pursuit through Berlin and Hamburg to the coast. Safe Arrival in England. Backward glance on the incidents of the Mission. Conclusion.

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LITTLE occurred during the remainder of my stay at Lintz to disturb my quiet, except an attack of gout, until in the spring of 1809 the French swept through Germany, driving the Austrian army, under the Archduke Charles, before them ; and, though last,

last, not least, in my own estimation, I too, was forced to quit my quiet domicile, gout and all, and flee for safety. Arrived in Vienna, I soon found that even there I should not long be safe; and accordingly made immediate arrangements for leaving that capital. The north of Germany was at that time comparatively quiet; for, though the French had pushed forward corps into Saxony, to keep the Austrians in check in that quarter, yet the great theatre of war to which the eyes of Europe were directed, lay in the hereditary dominions of the Emperor. Impressed with an opinion that my escape through the north would be easier, now that the south absorbed the attention of the conflicting nations, I at once adopted the resolution of attempting my retreat from the Continent. I quitted Vienna and posted through Bohemia, without

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without a passport, towards Dresden. Within some miles of the latter place I met an Austrian general officer, attended by a single trooper. To him I addressed a brief inquiry. I told him I was desirous of entering Dresden, but had no passport; and wished to know whether the city was still in the occupation of the Austrians under Marshal Keenmayer. His replies were equally brief; and, so far, satisfactory. "I am Marshal Keenmayer. The army under my command has evacuated Dresden, and is encamped near the town. The French army is encamped on the opposite side, and has not, as yet, taken possession of it;—if you make haste you may reach it in safety. Good morning." I lost no time, and entered the city without a question being asked. Within two hours the place was occupied by the French; and

and in a short space I had the honour of a visit, at my hotel, from two officers of the police, kindly to inquire my name and occupation. I gave my assumed name, Adam Rorauer, and announced myself as a teacher of languages. They seemed satisfied with my answer and left me. In about two or three hours they returned and inquired whether I had a passport. "No." "You have given us a wrong name—yours is James Robertson—you are a native of Scotland." Imagine, reader, if you can, the startling effect of this announcement on my nerves. I was thunder-struck. But having, in a manner, become familiar with such incidents, I, fortunately, recovered my presence of mind without attracting the particular attention of the querists, and replied, with assumed composure—"Well, what then? I am still a teacher

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teacher of languages." "But, sir," they answered, "you cannot stop here." "I am content—give me a passport." "Sir, you came without a passport, and therefore you cannot have one from hence." "Then let me go without one." "That is equally impossible," was the reply. I could only exclaim against this inconsistency; and they left me, for further instructions, as I presumed, promising another visit.

The dilemma was serious, and prompt decision was necessary to extricate me from my difficulties. How my name had been discovered, I could not even surmise, nor have I since ascertained; but I felt fully persuaded that little time would suffice for such further discoveries as would place my life in danger.

It was my happiness to have been saved at Munich by one friend who

who had formerly belonged to the same religious community as myself; and I firmly believe that, upon the present trying occasion, I owed my safety to another. The worthy ecclesiastic of whom I speak, held the office of chaplain in a family of the highest distinction, then resident in the neighbourhood of Dresden. While gratefully acknowledging the important service which he rendered me, I rejoice to record the good fortune which subsequently befell him in being appointed preceptor to the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and a canon of the Cathedral of Ratisbon. To him I communicated my difficulties, entreating the exercise of his local knowledge and influence to procure me a passport for Berlin. I, or rather he, was successful. I obtained the necessary document, and left immediately for the Prussian capital,

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capital, with a firm determination not to cry halt, until I should have shaken the dust of Continental soil from my feet. I kept to my resolution; and posting, without the least regard to expense, to Berlin—from Berlin to Hamburg, from Hamburg, by the shortest route, to the coast—had the good fortune to reach Cuxhaven in safety.

I was now among friends, who soon conveyed me to Heligoland; and I reached Harwich by the packet in due course.

Some time after my arrival in London, I received information from a friend in Hamburg, who was in the confidence of our Government, that exactly what I had expected had come to pass. Almost immediately after my departure from Dresden, the police, or the French, had discovered who I was; I had been tracked and pursued

purfued by huffars through Berlin and Hamburg ; but, though always clofe at my heels, by fome chance, inexplicable alike to them and to my friend, before reaching the coaft they had loft all traces of me.

The only way in which I could account for my efcape was this :—I have mentioned that I did not fpare expenfe ; and, I may add, I paid the poftilions extravagantly. My fame, of courfe, kept pace with my progreffs ; and, near the end of my journey, my poftilions wifhing to make the moft of their good customer, fuggelted that, as the horfes (I travelled with four) were in excellent condition, the ftages rather fhort, and I in fuch evident hafte, they would take me on a fecond ftage without ftopping. To this I affented. When we arrived near the end of the firft ftage, the poftilions,
being

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being afraid of the post-master, who would probably not have permitted them to proceed without changing horses, took a circuitous route to avoid the village. In the meantime, as I conjecture, my pursuers came up ; but finding, upon inquiry at the village, that I had not passed through, probably suspected that I had followed some side-road, to baffle pursuit ; and themselves tried every route but the right one.

Such is the incident to which alone I could attribute my providential escape from the last, and perhaps the most serious, of all the varied risks I had run in the course of my adventurous undertaking.

I was now beyond the reach of my enemies, and had full time calmly to reflect on the continual danger to which I had been exposed from my first leaving England until my landing

ing again at Harwich—a period of thirteen months. The earlier stages of my expedition, including my landing at Bremen, my progress to the Marquis de la Romana's head-quarters—my stay at Nyborg and my return to Hamburg, appeared at the time the most perilous, because then the danger, staring me as it were in the face, I felt that at any moment I might lose my presence of mind, and *that* would at once have been fatal to me; yet now, as I look back on the past, it seems to me that I was even in greater jeopardy whilst reposing quietly during the winter at Lintz. For, had I been discovered there by any of the French spies, beyond all doubt Bonaparte would have demanded that I should be delivered up to him; and it is equally certain that, before the open rupture between the two powers, Austria would, in such

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such a contingency, have complied with the request. Nay, it is more than probable that the Austrians, who were doing all in their power to blind Bonaparte to their real designs, would have delivered me up of their own accord, had they found out who I was, and upon what business I had been employed. But the closing act of the eventful history, embracing my hasty retreat from Lintz to Vienna, and thence to Dresden, the discovery there of my name and country, my flight and pursuit almost to the water's edge, was the most truly perilous of all; for what had been wanting to the danger of the first two periods had been realized in the last. I had been discovered, and discovery, had I been taken, would have proved the brief precursor of death.

In the calmness of perfect security
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in which I now found myself, the various feelings by which I had been so long agitated frequently came back upon my mind with little less than their original force. The hope at starting; the fear inspired by dangers encountered at the outset; the incessant dread of discovery at a time when discovery would have involved the failure of my mission, as well as the extremity of peril to myself; the thrilling suspense I endured during my hazardous conferences with La Romana; the cruel disappointment I experienced when baffled in my attempt to get on board one of the English ships of war; the delight with which I first heard of the escape of La Romana and his troops; the ever-recurring alarms which beset me during the long period of my banishment, and the intense anxiety which accompanied every step

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step of my homeward journey to England,—all were reproduced in turn, only to be replaced by the deep sense of joy at my deliverance, and triumph in the accomplishment of the great object to which my energies had been devoted. With these emotions—let me confess it—was mingled no small degree of pride at having succeeded in so momentous and difficult an undertaking, when others, apparently far better qualified for the attempt by their previous pursuits and habits of life, had engaged in it and failed.

Every fresh report of advantages gained by the British or Spanish armies, and particularly by the army under La Romana; every praise bestowed upon him personally; every comment on his usefulness and on the importance of his counsel, and of his influence to the success of the great

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great cause, awakened in me feelings of self-gratulation. But high above all predominated a sentiment of heartfelt gratitude to God, who had enabled me to be the successful instrument in accomplishing so much good, and in the midst of innumerable dangers had preserved my life and permitted me to witness the happy consequences of my exertions.

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Appendix.



APPENDIX.

Memoir of the Marquis de La Romana.

EXTRACTED FROM THE "BIOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE."

PEDRO Caro y Sureda, Marquis de la Romana, was born on the 3rd of October, 1761, at Palma, the capital of the Island of Majorca. His father was a general officer, who, while commanding the Spanish vanguard in the expedition against Algiers in 1775, fell in action at the head of the Almanza regiment of dragoons. The young La Romana was sent to France in 1771, and received a very careful education in the College of the Oratory at Lyons. He continued his studies at the University of Salamanca and the Seminary of Nobles, at Madrid, where he made rapid progress in science and even in the arts.

He

He had been appointed a marine guard in 1775, but it was not till 1778 that he entered on the discharge of his functions, repairing for that purpose to the academy of his corps established at Carthagena. His good conduct and the talents which he displayed raised him to the rank of an officer in 1779, and a short time afterwards General Don Véntura Moreno chose him for his adjutant. In 1782 he served with distinction in the gunboats and floating batteries at the siege of Gibraltar. At the peace of 1783 he retired to Valencia, where he devoted his leisure to the cultivation of literature, and more particularly to the study of languages. He at this time dedicated the greater part of his income to the collection of a valuable library and the encouragement of Spanish artists applying themselves to sculpture and to painting. In 1784 he left his home to visit foreign countries, with the view of increasing his stores of knowledge, and made some considerable stay at Vienna and Berlin, where he found every facility to improve his acquaintance with the art of war. On his return from his travels he went to sea under the command of Gravina, and in 1790 was appointed captain of a frigate. When the war broke out between Spain and France, La Romana passed over to the land service.

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He was employed at first under the orders of his uncle, Don Ventura Caro, general-in-chief of the army of Guipuscoa, who, knowing his bravery and his adventurous character, gave him the command of a corps of chasseurs, consisting of about 2,000 men. This command La Romana continued to hold throughout the campaign of 1793, and for the greater part of 1794. On the 30th of April, 1793, he contributed to the taking of the camp of Sare, which the Spaniards abandoned after having plundered and burnt it; and on the 6th of June following, he distinguished himself in the action at Château-Pignon, where the general-in-chief of the French army, La Genetière, was beaten and made prisoner. Müller, who succeeded La Genetière, having attacked the line of the Spanish posts in the valley of Bäigorri, and made himself master of the village of Aldudes, evinced his intention of occupying the valleys of Bastan and Roncesvalles, and menacing Pampluna. To effect a diversion, Caro brought together 10,000 or 12,000 men on the Bidasoa, and dividing them into four columns, put them simultaneously into motion on the 23rd of June, 1794. La Romana, who commanded the second column, setting out from Biriaton, directed his march on Mont Diamant and
Mont

Mont Vert, and there established himself, driving back the French. General Escalante was equally successful at the head of the first column, but the other two, having been less fortunate, were obliged to fall back on the troops of Escalante and La Romana, to whom they communicated their own disorder; the discomfiture then became general, and the Spaniards were constrained to recross the Bidassoa. After his defeat at the camp of St. Martial and the loss of Fontarabia, on the 1st of August, 1794, General Caro was recalled, and his place was supplied by the Count de Colomera. La Romana being now transferred to the army of Catalonia, under the command of the Count de la Union, distinguished himself, we are told, at the battle of Montenegro, on the 18th and 20th of November. The rout of the Spaniards on that occasion was complete; about 10,000 of their soldiers were left on the field of battle, 8,000 were made prisoners, and three generals—La Union himself, the chief in command, being one—were among the slain.* The fort of Figueras, which had been deemed impregnable, was forced to surrender, and the wreck

* Dugommier, the commander-in-chief of the French army, had been killed in the action of the 18th by the bursting of a shell, and was succeeded by Perignon.

wreck of the Spanish army was compelled to shut itself up in Girona. Amidst the general confusion, the corps of La Romana was the only one that retired in good order ; he covered the retreat, and more than once checked the pursuit of the enemy.

Promoted soon after to the rank of major-general, he served under the Marquis de las Amarillas, who had assumed the command of the Spanish army after the death of La Union, and under Don Josef de Urrutia, who was shortly appointed in his stead. The latter general, finding his force insufficient to relieve the fort of Rosas, which the French were vigorously besieging, endeavoured, by means of a diversion, to draw away the French to another point. Don Ildefonso Arias received orders to push forward to the banks of the Fluvia, and threaten the French positions on that side ; while La Romana, with 2,000 men, was to make a movement on their left, and endeavour to surprise their cantonments. The latter only was able to execute the movement prescribed to him. Setting out from Bezału, following the road to Figueras and passing by Crispia, he, on the 16th of January, 1795, reached the level of the posts which he was instructed to seize, and within 300 paces of the French advanced guard. He immediately took

took measures to carry two of the French cantonments by surprise, but his plan was frustrated by the imprudence of a Spanish corporal, who answered the summons of a sentinel by discharging his musket. The report startled the French, and made them aware of the danger to which they were exposed. The main-guard, alarmed at the sight of the Spaniards, had already thrown down their arms, and were flying in disorder, when succours came up. La Romana then gave orders to his advanced guard to fall back and form in line behind his cavalry. The French, mistaking this movement for a retreat, advanced in their turn, but were vigorously repelled by the Spanish cavalry, and forced to make a rampart of their bayonets. During this charge, the Spanish infantry had re-formed; the cavalry then opened their ranks, and while they bore down rapidly on the flanks of the republicans, the infantry attacked them with such impetuosity, that they could not withstand the shock. La Romana, at this conjuncture, performed prodigies of valour. Placing himself at the head of his cavalry, he charged the right flank of the French, and threw them into disorder. But by this time the troops encamped below Figueras had been put in motion to carry aid
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to the defeated party. La Romana, who had had two horses killed under him, receiving timely notice of this movement, gave orders to discontinue the pursuit, and reluctantly abandoning the field of battle, retired in good order on Bezalu. He afterwards took part in the sanguinary engagements of the 28th of March and 5th of May, 1795, in which both parties claimed to have had the advantage. The most important event of this campaign was the taking of Rosas, which was surrendered to the French on the 5th of February. Some days before the action of the 5th of May, La Romana was charged with the difficult duty of occupying the rear of the enemy by crossing the frontier of the Pyrenees. French Cerdagne was accordingly invaded, but just when the expedition gave promise of a successful issue, the peace of Bâle—to which Manuel Godoi, Duke of Alcudia, was indebted for his title of "*Principe de la Paz*"—was signed on the 22nd of July, 1795, by Don Domingo d'Yriarte and M. Barthélemy. Urrutia immediately resigned his command in Catalonia, and La Romana, now a lieutenant-general, accompanied by his friend, the Count de Lumières, afterwards known under the name of Prince Pio, retired to Alicante, to devote himself to the study of antiquities.

In

In 1798, the English having taken possession of Minorca, La Romana was appointed to the command of a body of troops who were to be employed in the recapture of that island; but the expedition never failed, owing to the disaster which befel the Spanish squadron at Trafalgar.

In 1800 La Romana was named commandant-general, *ad interim*, of Catalonia, where he distinguished himself by his vigorous administration, and subsequently he was called to take a seat in the Supreme Council of War.

In January, 1807, Bonaparte induced the Spanish Government to place at his disposal 14,000 of their best troops to form a corps of observation on the frontiers of Hanover, and close the mouths of the Weser and the Elbe against the English. The Prince of the Peace proposed at first to give the command of this contingent to General Castaños or to O'Farill, but at last determined to place it under the orders of La Romana, who was accordingly summoned to Madrid. After a good deal of hesitation, which the very marked dissatisfaction of Strogonoff, the Russian minister at Madrid, tended to increase,* the Prince of the

* Strogonoff suggested a fear that the Spanish troops might be *republicanised* by coming into contact with the French

the Peace—who, in this affair, seems to have yielded reluctantly to the wishes of Bonaparte—not willing or not daring to resist his reiterated and threatening importunities—at last gave the order for departure; and 8,000 or 9,000 Spanish auxiliaries commenced their march in the month of May, taking their route through the French territory. They were to be joined by a division of 6,000 Spaniards then quartered in Tuscany. These arrived at the place of rendezvous before La Romana, and assisted in the siege of Stralsund.

La Romana was accustomed openly to express his regret that Spain was so far behind other European nations in her industry and in the adoption of liberal ideas. Well pleased, therefore, as he was with the opportunity afforded him of improving his own knowledge of the art of war, while he took part in the military operations of the French, he found equal pleasure in the anticipation that his troops, being of necessity brought into frequent contact with their allies, would acquire notions of liberty which might afterwards

French, and intimated besides that this step on the part of the Spanish government would be regarded by Russia as a hostile proceeding; but his cautions and his menaces were alike disregarded.

afterwards be usefully developed and propagated in Spain.

The Spanish troops having been placed under the supreme command of Bernadotte, acted in concert with the French against Swedish Pomerania, and while so employed made themselves conspicuous by their courage and their discipline. After the peace of Tilsit, in July, 1807, war having then broken out between England and Denmark, and Bonaparte having conceived the design of invading Sweden, the Spanish troops were ordered to the Danish Islands, with a view to their forming the vanguard of Bernadotte's army. They landed in successive divisions during the months of March, April, and May, 1808, in Seeland, Jutland, and Fünen, and were there cantoned.

It was at this time that Bonaparte, by adroitly fomenting the ill-feeling between Charles IV. and his son, and by the alternate use of craft, perfidy, and violence, succeeded in depriving both those princes of the crown, and consigning them and their family to captivity. La Romana was in Fünen, when Bernadotte communicated to him the order of Bonaparte, that he should take an oath of allegiance to Joseph Napoleon, whom he called the new sovereign of Spain, and administer the same oath

oath to his troops. In the delicate position in which the Spanish general was placed, almost surrounded by a French force vastly superior to his own—held in check by the Danish troops also, and shut out from any direct communication with his native country,—he felt himself compelled to yield to the torrent for awhile, that he might not compromise the safety of the large body of men under his command; but the oath, in the terms in which he studiously couched it, was a conditional one, pre-supposing the unanimous consent of the Spanish nation. When, a little while after this, authentic information of the actual state of affairs in Spain was brought to him by an ecclesiastic, who encountered a thousand dangers before he reached him, La Romana at first hesitated to act.* But when Don Vincente Lobo, a Spanish officer, commissioned by the Junta of Seville, and then on board the English fleet in the Baltic, had found means to put him in possession of despatches from the different Juntas, and

* There is some inexactness in this statement. It will be seen by the foregoing narrative, that the information brought to La Romana by Mr. Robertson (the ecclesiastic here mentioned) was sufficient to decide his course of action, and that he announced his resolution in their last interview. ED.

and a letter from General Morla, containing details regarding the invasion of the French, the insurrection of the Spaniards, and the capture of the French fleet stationed at Cadiz, he determined to throw off the mask at once and fly to the defence of his country.

After a few messages had passed between him and Rear-Admiral Keats, the second in command of the English fleet, he came to a full understanding with that officer as to the measures which were to be taken to effect the deliverance of the Spanish troops. He pretended, nevertheless, to yield to the arguments of Marshal Bernadotte, who bitterly complained of the conditional form in which he had administered the oath; he even promised to substitute for that form any other that might be prescribed to him; but he at the same time (August 6th) addressed an energetic circular to the commanding officers of the different corps under his orders, informing them of the events which had taken place in Spain, apprizing them of the course of action he had resolved upon, and inviting them all to assemble themselves immediately in the isles of Fünen and Langeland, so that the French might have no opportunity of obstructing their noble design. "I am a Spaniard," said La Romana in this circular, "and

“and I am resolved to share the glorious destiny of my native land. Anything is preferable to the life of idle dependence that we lead, and I have fully made up my mind to embark with the troops who are willing to follow me.” The orders of La Romana were so punctually and so secretly carried into effect, that almost all the Spanish troops, though setting out from different points, arrived nearly on the same day at the place of rendezvous. None failed to make their appearance except the corps stationed in Seeland, who had been disarmed and made prisoners of war in the arsenal at Copenhagen,* and two squadrons that suffered the like hard fortune in Jutland. Three companies of Danes were in garrison at Nyborg, in Fünen. La Romana, fearing lest these should in any way thwart his

* This corps, composed of six battalions of the regiments of the Asturias and Guadalaxara, to the number of nearly 4,000, had been cantoned at or near Røskilde. They had obstinately refused to take the oath of allegiance to Joseph, broken out into open revolt, and even murdered a French adjutant. Ultimately they were pacified and disarmed. Besides being strongly actuated by a sentiment of loyalty to their lawful sovereign, they were deeply offended by a French officer having been empowered to administer the oath to them instead of their own general, La Romana.

his plans, contrived to get them withdrawn by means of a counterfeit order from the Prince of Ponte Corvo ; he then, in spite of the resistance and remonstrances of the Danish governor, took possession himself of this important place, where there were gunboats in the harbour which might have annoyed him, but which he made subservient to the execution of his purpose. After he had concluded a convention with the Governor of Langeland, by which the latter engaged to supply him with whatever quantity of provisions the island could furnish, the Spanish troops, to the number of nearly 10,000 men, were embarked on board some Danish coasting-vessels which were then lying at Nyborg and Langeland, and were joined at Gothenburg by La Romana and his staff, who had been conveyed thither in English vessels. La Romana, leaving the command of the troops to the Count de San Romano, went directly to London to make arrangements with the English ministry regarding the subsidies which were indispensably requisite for the vigorous prosecution of the war. He did not land in Spain until after the battle of Espinosa, on 11th of November, 1808, in which Blake was entirely defeated by the united corps of Le Fèvre, Maison, and Victor ; and the troops which had then recently

recently arrived from Denmark having been disembarked at Santander on the 9th of October, were nearly all cut to pieces.

La Romana, who had been appointed commandant-in-chief of the northern provinces of Spain, did not allow himself to be cast down by this disaster, or by the reverses which the English and Spanish armies had experienced in other quarters; he gathered together the shattered remnants of the army which had been defeated at Espinosa, and endeavoured to awaken fresh energy in the inhabitants of the country over which they had been dispersed.

In a proclamation which he published in January, 1809, he censures the disorder which had characterized the retreat upon Leon, as well as the cowardice of some officers who had abandoned their flag, and complains in general of the relaxation of discipline. Fully persuaded that the late reverses were to be ascribed to the timidity or the inexperience of the chiefs, he established various punishments for such as should not perform their duty. The Junta of Asturias had evinced great negligence in providing for the defence of the country; he dissolved it by military authority, in virtue of the powers confided to him by the Supreme Junta, and replaced it by a new assembly,

assembly, the members of which were named by himself. He explained his reasons for what he had done in a proclamation dated 2nd of May, 1809.

We will not follow La Romana through the various actions in which he was engaged with the French in Galicia and the Asturias between February and July, 1809. We need only say that his force, after the retreat of the English, being reduced to a feeble corps of 6,000 men, imperfectly disciplined, he was obliged to adopt a different method of carrying on the war; and that, nevertheless, through the influence of the example which he set his soldiers in patiently and courageously supporting fatigues and privations of every kind, he succeeded, by means of rapid and repeated movements, in harassing the armies of Ney and Soult to such a degree, that they found themselves compelled to evacuate that part of Spain over which his command extended. This is a brilliant epoch in his military career.

On the 10th of July, 1809, he published a proclamation at Corunna against the traitors who, seduced by the gold of Bonaparte, were endeavouring to sow dissensions among Spaniards, and to excite distrust against the central Junta. This same Junta, on the other hand, summoned him, on the 31st of August,

August, to take his seat amongst its members—either wishing to profit by his counsels, or, perhaps, intent on removing him from his command.* However this may be, it left him to choose his own successor. La Romana, who feared nothing so much as civil war, obeyed without hesitation, disregarding the advice of some of his friends, who would have persuaded him to retain his command. In the proclamation by which he informed his troops of his departure and of the new functions he was about to assume, he reminded them of the retreat from Portugal and the brilliant actions of Villa Franca, Vigo, Lugo, Santiago and San Payo. He at the same time transferred the command of the army to Major-General Don Gabriel de Mendezabal, and the government of Galicia to the Count de Noronha, the vice-commandant and president of the Royal Audience.

On the 15th of October, he addressed a representation to the Supreme Junta concerning the existing form of the government, and the form which should be adopted to bring it into harmony with the constitutional principles of the monarchy. In this address he showed

* The somewhat arbitrary manner in which La Romana had dissolved the Junta of the Asturias had raised enemies against him.

showed himself adverse to the representative system on which the existence of the Junta itself was based, but which he considered as favouring of democracy rather than monarchy. Then, reviewing the promises of the Junta, which among other things had announced that it would organize an army of 500,000 infantry and 50,000 cavalry, he compares these promises with the results. "The nation complains," said he, "of the insufficiency of the force destined for its defence, and that instead of salutary reforms, new abuses have been introduced." He charged the Junta further with having exceeded its powers, and with having confided the administration of affairs to persons either incompetent or of doubtful loyalty. He proposed that until the Cortes should be assembled, the supreme authority should be entrusted to a regent, or to a council of regency composed of from three to five persons.

The advice of La Romana was not listened to. After the defeat of the Spaniards at Ocaña, on the 18th of November, 1809, the Supreme Junta directed that he, with Don Rodrigo Riquelme, should repair to the head-quarters at Carolina, armed with the most ample authority to take measures, in concert with Don Juan Dios Galienez Róba, the commissary

missary for the army of La Mancha, for the prevention of similar calamities in future. La Romana refused to accept a commission which he deemed useless, or, at any rate, beneath him in dignity.

In 1810 he was again employed in active service, being appointed to the command of the army of the left. Re-entering Castile in the month of August, with 25,000 men, he was reinforced on the 28th of November, at Alba de Tormes, by the remains of the division of Ballesteros, five days after the check which that division met with on the banks of the river from which the town just mentioned takes its name. When the news reached him of the movements of the French troops in Estremadura, of the difficulty encountered in succouring Olivença, and of the possibility that Badajoz might be attacked, he marched his troops rapidly into that province. He was indulging hopes of being able to drive the French beyond its frontier, when he received an urgent summons from Lord Wellington to hasten to the assistance of the allied troops, who were menaced by the forces under the command of Massena. La Romana arrived in Portugal in the beginning of January, 1811; but on the 23rd of the same month he died in the city of Cartaxo, after a short illness. His
body,

body, after having been embalmed, was conveyed to Lisbon in an English vessel, and his entrails, enclosed in a richly ornamented chest, were buried with extraordinary pomp in the monastery of Belem. "His virtues, his talents, and his patriotism were well known to the Government of his Britannic Majesty," said Lord Wellington, in a despatch which he addressed on the 26th of January, 1811, to the Earl of Liverpool. "In him the Spanish army has lost its greatest ornament, his country her purest patriot, and the world the bravest and most zealous defender of the cause for which we are in arms. I shall always acknowledge with gratitude the assistance I have received from him in the field, as well as in council, since he joined this army."

His withdrawal from Denmark, and his campaign in Galicia and the Asturias, will secure to La Romana an honourable place among the Spanish commanders who have deserved well of their country. His personal bravery was of the highest stamp, but the composure which he displayed under fire was a quality which did not invariably contribute to his success as a general. In its outward aspect his character wanted force; he was averse to reflection, and disposed to adopt the conflicting opinions of those who surrounded him,

him, each in its turn. This changefulness was by no means to be attributed to a want of conviction; it was in perfect good-faith that he often declared himself directly opposed to an opinion which he had recently embraced with ardour. He was generous and bountiful, especially towards those who had endeavoured to injure him; affable with all, but most of all with his soldiers, by whom he was adored. But these good qualities were obscured, in some degree, by his eccentricities, which were sometimes of a kind to injure his reputation. Though conversant with literature, and delighting in it, La Romana was not to be classed with men of learning, but he had a highly cultivated mind, and was endowed with a prodigious memory. He had a familiar knowledge of Greek, Latin, and four living languages. He could discuss with equal facility a question in medicine or a point of law, a mathematical problem or a fact in history. The most pressing dangers never disturbed his daily practice of reading some of the odes of Pindar, or some passages from Xenophon and others of the Greek authors, to whom he was devotedly attached. Natural science had great attractions for him, and he possessed a cabinet filled with all kinds of instruments connected with it. He had another cabinet

cabinet of mineralogy, and a third which contained some fine paintings of the Valentian school. He was a painter himself, it is said, and not an unsuccessful one; he made very agreeable verses, and he is known to have rendered highly important aid to the Count of Lumiares in his researches into antiquity.

*Extract from Bourienne's Memoirs of
Napoleon.*

PREVIOUS to the interview at Erfurt, an event took place which created a strong interest in Hamburg, and throughout Europe; an event which was planned and executed with inconceivable secrecy. I allude to the defection of the Marquis de la Romana, which I have not hitherto noticed, in order that I might not separate the different facts which came to my knowledge relative to that defection, and the circumstances which accompanied it.

The Marquis de la Romana had come to the Hanse Towns at the head of a corps of 18,000 men, which the Emperor, in the preceding campaign, claimed in virtue of treaties previously concluded with the Spanish Government. The Spanish troops at first met

met with a good reception in the Hanse Towns. The difference of language, indeed, occasionally caused discord ; but when better acquainted, the inhabitants and their visitors became good friends. The Marquis de la Romana was a little swarthy man, of unprepossessing, and rather common, appearance ; but he had a considerable share of talent and information. He had travelled in almost every part of Europe ; and as he had been a close observer of all he saw, his conversation was exceedingly agreeable and instructive. During his stay at Hamburg, General Romana spent almost every evening at my house, and invariably fell asleep over a game at whist. Madame de Bourienne was usually his partner, and I recollect he perpetually offered apologies for his involuntary breach of good manners. This, however, did not hinder him from being guilty of the same offence the next evening. I will presently explain the cause of this regular fiesta.

On the King of Spain's birthday, the Marquis de la Romana gave a magnificent entertainment. The decorations of the ball-room consisted of military attributes. The Marquis did the honors with infinite grace, and paid particular attention to the French Generals. He always spoke of the Emperor in very respectful

spectful terms, without any appearance of affectation, so that it was impossible to suspect him of harbouring any bad design. He played his part to the last with the utmost address.

At Hamburg we had already received intelligence of the fatal result of the battle of the Sierra Morena, and of the capitulation of Dupont, which disgraced him at the very moment when the whole army marked him out as the man most likely to receive the bâton of Marshal of France.

Meanwhile, the Marquis de la Romana departed for the Danish Island of Fünen, in compliance with the order which General Bernadotte had transmitted to him. There, as at Hamburg, the Spaniards were well liked, for their General obliged them to observe the strictest discipline. Great preparations were made at Hamburg on the approach of St. Napoleon's day, which was then celebrated with much solemnity in every town in which France had representatives. The Prince of Ponte Corvo was then at Travemunde, a small seaport near Lübeck ; but that did not prevent him from giving directions for the festival of the 15th of August. The Marquis de la Romana, the better to deceive the Marshal, dispatched a courier, requesting permission to visit Hamburg on the day of the fête, in order
to

to join his prayers to those of the French, and to receive on the day of the fête, from the hands of the Prince, the Grand Order of the Legion of Honor, which he had solicited, and which Napoleon had granted him. Three days after, Bernadotte received intelligence of the defection of La Romana.

The Marquis assembled a great number of English vessels on the coast, and escaped with all his troops, except a dépôt of 600 men left at Altona.

We afterwards heard that he experienced no interruption in his passage, and that he landed with his troops at Corunna.

I now knew to what to attribute the drowsiness which always overcame the Marquis de la Romana when he sat down to take a hand at whist. The fact was, he sat up all night making preparations for the escape which he had long meditated, while to lull suspicion he showed himself everywhere during the day, as usual.

On the defection of the Spanish troops, I received letters from Government, requiring me to augment my vigilance, and to seek out those persons who might have been in the confidence of the Marquis de la Romana. I was informed that English agents dispersed through the Hanse Towns were endeavouring to foment discord.

The

THE following extract from Bourienne relates to the period immediately preceding the defection of Romana, and shows the stratagems resorted to by Bonaparte to keep the Spaniards in complete ignorance of the state of affairs in Spain.

“ On the 6th April following, I received a second letter from Bernadotte, in which he desired me to order the Grand Ducal post-master to keep back all letters addressed to the Spanish troops who had been placed under his command, and of which the corps of Romana formed a part.

“ The post-master was directed to keep the letters until he received orders to forward them to their destination. Bernadotte considered this step indispensable to prevent the intrigues which he feared might be set on foot in order to shake the fidelity of the Spaniards he commanded.”

Extract from Napier's Peninsular War.

WITH Mr. Frere came a fleet conveying a Spanish force under the Marquis of Romana. When the insurrection first broke forth, that nobleman commanded fourteen or fifteen thousand troops serving with the French armies. Castaños, through Sir Hugh Dalrymple, desired the British Government to apprise Romana that Spain was in arms, and extricate his army, and Mr. McKenzie was selected by the Ministers to conduct the enterprise. The Spaniards were in Holstein, Sleswig, Jutland, and the islands of Fünen, Zealand, and Langeland. McKenzie, through the medium of one Robertson, a Catholic priest, opened a communication with Romana, and neither the General nor soldiers hesitated. Sir Richard Keats then appeared off Nyborg in the island of Fünen, with a squadron detached from the Baltic fleet, a majority of the Spanish regiments, quartered in Sleswig immediately seized all the craft in the harbours, and pushed across the channel to Fünen, where Romana, with the assistance of Keats, had seized the port and castle of Nyborg, without opposition save from a small Danish

Danish ship of war moored in the harbour. From thence the Spaniards passed to Langeland, where they embarked nine thousand strong on board the English fleet commanded by Sir James Saumarez. The rest of the troops either remained in Sleswig, or were disarmed by the Danish forces in Zealand. This enterprise was ably conducted, and the readiness of the Spanish soldiery was very honourable, yet the danger was slight to all save Mr. Robertson. Romana, after visiting England, repaired to Corunna, but his troops landed at St. Andrew, where they were equipped from the English stores, and then proceeded by divisions to join Blake's army in Biscay.

NOTE.—Our narrative explains that Mr. McKenzie's part was, from the beginning, merely secondary or intermediate, he having been directed to accompany Mr. R. to Heligoland, and there to remain to receive and forward any communications which Mr. R. might send to him.—*Ed.*



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